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ANNUAL MEETING

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

LA CRITIQUE EN HISTOIRE

PAR LE SÉNATEUR THOMAS CHAPAIS

L'histoire est une science en même temps qu'elle est un art. Je crois que l'on convient généralement de lui reconnaître ce double caractère.

Laissant de côté ce soir son élément artistique, je voudrais m'attacher avec vous, pendant quelques instants à considérer chez elle l'élément scientifique, et plus spécialement ce qui en constitue l'une des parties essentielles, le rôle de la critique dans l'histoire.

La science historique a pour objet d'acquérir la connaissance des faits, des événements, des évolutions, des fluctuations subis par les hommes, par les sociétés et par les peuples à travers les âges. Elle en recherche les causes, les particularités, les conséquences. Elle est curieuse de connaître et désireuse de faire connaître ce qui a été: les origines, la croissance, les luttes, les vicissitudes des groupements humains, des nations et des états. Pour y parvenir, elle doit se livrer à de longues et patientes investigations. Il lui incombe de scruter les traditions, les fables, les légendes, d'étudier les monuments, les inscriptions anciennes, de rechercher les documents de toute nature capables d'éclairer les obscures arcanes du passé. Elle ne doit rien négliger, rien mépriser, rien écarter. Les pénibles excursions à travers les nécropoles documentaires, le déchiffrement laborieux des manuscrits, l'examen minutieux des chartes et des pièces d'archives ne sauraient la rebuter. Il lui faut découvrir la vérité, reconstituer les époques disparues, reproduire la physionomie des générations mortes. Et pour atteindre cet objectif, elle n'épargnera aucune peine.

Mais dans ce travail de recherche, d'information, de documentation, elle risque de faire fausse route si elle n'a pour l'éclairer un flambeau dont la lumière guide sûrement ses pas. Ce flambeau, c'est la critique. Sans la critique, l'érudition la plus profonde, la documentation la plus étendue, ne peuvent préserver de l'erreur l'historien.

Qu'est-ce donc que la critique? La critique c'est tout simplement l'examen. En histoire, c'est l'examen des documents; c'est l'art de vérifier les preuves; " c'est le contrôle des témoignages."

En effet, pour écrire une œuvre historique solide et digne d'estime, il ne suffit pas, par exemple, d'avoir une documentation abondante. Il faut que, dans l'emploi de ses richesses, l'auteur montre du discernement et de la clairvoyance. Il faut qu'il ait du sens critique.

Tous les documents n'ont pas la même valeur. Il y en a qui sont controuvés; il y en a qui sont faux; il y en a qui sont inexacts. La critique a pour objet d'en opérer le triage, d'en distinguer la valeur, d'en discerner le caractère.

C'est surtout durant les temps modernes que la critique a pris dans les travaux d'histoire la place qui lui appartient. Les historiens de l'antiquité,

il faut le reconnaître, ne lui donnaient pas assez d'importance. Ils admettaient trop facilement dans leurs récits l'élément fabuleux et légendaire. C'est ainsi que l'histoire romaine classique a fait entrer dans la mémoire des hommes un grand nombre de faits, d'actes, de gestes ou de paroles héroïques, dont la réalité et la certitude ne sont rien moins que démontrées. Hélas! oui, Mesdames et Messieurs, tous tant que nous sommes, nous avons des amputations profondes à pratiquer dans nos réminiscences d'histoire romaine. Il nous faut renoncer à l'émotion tragique suscitée par le combat des Horaces qui inspira le *Qu'il mourût* de Corneille. Il nous faut esquisser un sourire sceptique devant l'épisode des Sabines, immortalisé par la peinture. Il nous faut cesser de frémir devant le dévouement inouï de Curtius, de nous étonner devant le stoïcisme farouche de Mutius Scévola, d'applaudir à la vaillance incroyable d'Horatius Coclès, de compatir aux tortures de Regulus, martyr de la parole donnée. Ces incidents classiques, et beaucoup d'autres dont s'est nourri pendant des siècles l'imagination de milliers d'étudiants, devraient être éliminés de l'histoire réelle si l'on voulait accepter les décrets de la critique rigoureuse.

Pendant de longs siècles, l'autorité des historiens classiques avait semblé incontestable. "La vénération pour tout ce qui était antique", fait observer un écrivain, "se glissait dans les esprits au temps de la renaissance des lettres, de manière à influencer non seulement sur la littérature, mais encore sur la législation et sur la vie. Il n'y a donc pas lieu de s'étonner que l'histoire romaine ait été acceptée comme un article de foi et traitée avec cette soumission d'esprit et de jugement à la lettre écrite et transmise, avec cette peur de s'en écarter que l'on avait pour toutes les autres branches de l'enseignement. Emettre un doute sur ce qu'avaient dit un Tite-Live, un Denys, eut paru un scandale, un crime de lèse-majesté: on devait tout au plus s'occuper de mettre d'accord leurs contradictions, en calculant quelle autorité était d'un plus grand poids."

Cependant au seizième siècle même, il se rencontra des écrivains qui mirent en question l'autorité des historiens de l'antiquité. Lorenzo Valla, Glaréanus, Scaliger, Juste-Lipse, formulèrent des réserves et signalèrent des invraisemblances et des erreurs. Au dix-septième siècle, un professeur de Leyde, Périzonius, accentua ces critiques dans un ouvrage écrit en latin et intitulé *Animadversiones*. Mais ce fut au dix-huitième siècle que fut livré aux récits de Tite-Live l'assaut le plus hardi. Louis de Beaufort publia en 1738 sa dissertation *Sur l'incertitude des cinq premiers siècles de Rome*. Les cinq premiers siècles de Rome! Période d'importance, assurément! Et si elle reste embrumée d'incertitude, quelle foi devons-nous accorder aux historiens qui ont entrepris d'en raconter les fastes? Beaufort s'attaquait surtout à l'œuvre de Tite-Live. Il en signalait les défauts, et il faisait ressortir le défaut de critique par où l'historien latin avait trop fréquemment péché. Suivant lui, pour cette période lointaine, "les monuments de l'histoire romaine étaient rares et ont péri, les documents mensongers qui ont survécu n'ont transmis que des faits douteux, souvent invraisemblables, parfois contradictoires, et une histoire ainsi faite n'a rien de certain."

Le réquisitoire de Beaufort contre Tite-Live était excessif dans certaines parties. Mais son livre n'en rendait pas moins un réel service à la science historique, en préconisant l'examen des sources. Au dix-neuvième siècle un autre écrivain plus célèbre, Neibuhr, a repris sa thèse, mais sans y mettre le même esprit agressif. Il a introduit dans l'étude des institu-

tions et de l'histoire romaines une méthode qui lui a permis d'arriver à des constatations précieuses. Sans être inattaquable dans toutes ses théories ni dans toutes ses conclusions, il a fait faire à la critique historique d'indéniables progrès.

Plus que jamais de nos jours, celle-ci est devenue le corollaire indispensable de l'érudition, de la documentation. Comme l'a écrit un maître historien, au dix-neuvième siècle, César Cantu, "l'histoire ne peut aspirer à une certitude mathématique. La critique doit néanmoins, sous l'empire d'un doute raisonnable, examiner les événements et, quelque soit le nombre de ceux qui les attestent, rejeter ce qui répugne à la nature des choses, pénétrer l'artifice symbolique qui les rend obscurs et inadmissibles, adopter pour un moment les opinions de chaque temps et de chaque écrivain; faire la part de la peur, de l'adulation, de l'esprit de parti, et balancer les détracteurs et les panégyristes. Sans la critique l'histoire est un aveugle qui en prend un autre pour guide."

Des raisons multiples rendent nécessaire la critique des sources, dans les travaux historiques. Une œuvre peut être surabondamment documentée, et cependant n'en être pas moins inexacte et partiiale, parce que l'auteur a tout accepté, a recueilli pêle-mêle ce qu'il a trouvé dans les bibliothèques et les archives, en négligeant l'ardu mais urgent devoir de vérification qui s'impose en pareille matière. Dans la partie préliminaire de son travail, l'historien doit jouer le rôle de commissaire enquêteur. Il doit non seulement rechercher les témoignages, mais encore scruter le caractère des témoins et démêler leurs motifs. Sont-ils intéressés, sont-ils honorables, sont-ils suspects de partialité par excès de sympathie ou d'antipathie? Autant de questions qu'il faut résoudre.

Dans la critique des sources l'écrivain d'histoire doit avant toute chose s'assurer que les documents dont il veut faire état ont ce double caractère: l'authenticité et l'autorité. Ces deux attributs comprennent tous les éléments qui peuvent confirmer ou infirmer la valeur des pièces que l'on veut utiliser.

Il est de toute évidence que le document, pour être recevable, doit être incontestablement authentique. Dans la plupart des cas, l'authenticité peut être aisément établie. Les lettres, memoranda, les dépêches des ministres, des ambassadeurs, des plénipotentiaires, qui sont conservés dans les dépôts d'archives, en Angleterre, en France, et dans tous les pays, portent presque toujours, à leur face même, le cachet de l'authenticité. Pour le Canada spécialement, les correspondances de nos gouverneurs, de nos intendants, de nos officiers civils et militaires avec les ministres de la marine ou de la guerre, sous la domination française, les pièces analogues provenant des représentants de la couronne ou des principaux fonctionnaires à l'adresse des secrétaires coloniaux, sous la domination anglaise, ne sauraient être récusées. Mais il se rencontre parfois des documents d'une autre nature, qui ne doivent pas être acceptés par un auteur doué du sens critique sans une minutieuse enquête. Si vous me le permettez, Mesdames et Messieurs, nous allons sous forme d'exemple, procéder ensemble à une petite opération de ce genre, à propos de deux ou trois cas qui nous sont fournis par nos annales.

Ouvrons une histoire du Canada, l'une des meilleures sans contredit, celle de l'abbé Ferland et feuilletons les pages où cet excellent auteur nous raconte la dernière phase de notre ancien régime, et fait revivre les années tragiques où la gloire des champs de bataille ne pouvait voiler les turpitudes d'une administration corrompue. A la tête de cette dernière nous apparaît un homme néfaste, Bigot. L'historien flétrit justement ses déprédations et ses rapines. Et pour nous mieux faire comprendre combien il manquait de

sens moral, l'historien nous cite un billet où la concussion et le pécumat montrent leur face hideuse. Une des créatures de l'intendant le sieur de Vergor vient d'être nommé commissaire dans un fort de l'Acadie. "A peine arrivé à Beauséjour", raconte l'abbé Ferland, "Vergor reçut de son ami une lettre qui peint admirablement les dispositions du protecteur et du protégé". "Profitez, mon cher Vergor", écrivait Bigot, "profitez de votre place; taillez, rognez, vous avez tout pouvoir afin que vous puissiez bientôt me venir rejoindre en France et acheter un bien à portée de moi." Voilà sans doute une pièce accablante, écrasante, désespérément accusatrice. Mais ne l'est-elle pas trop? Serait-il possible qu'une canaille intelligente comme Bigot eût commis l'imprudence de l'écrire, de l'expédier au risque de la voir tomber dans des mains hostiles? Vous vous posez sans doute en ce moment cette question, comme je me la suis posée un jour.

Assurément l'abbé Ferland n'a pas inventé cette pièce. Mais où l'a-t-il prise? On ne la trouve nulle part dans nos archives. Si vous parcourez tous les documents de l'époque, vous ne rencontrez la mention du fameux billet que dans les *Mémoires sur les affaires du Canada*, par un écrivain qui s'est dissimulé sous une lettre, le Sieur de C., et dans une autre pièce intitulée *Mémoire sur les fraudes commises dans la colonie* sans nom d'auteur.

Ni l'un ni l'autre n'indiquent la provenance de la lettre adressée à Bigot. Parmi les contemporains, aucun de ceux qui ont dénoncé ses honteux exploits, ni Montcalm, ni Bougainville, ni Doreil, ni Monbeillard, n'en ont jamais parlé. Au cours du procès de l'intendant prévaricateur devant le Châtelet de Paris cette pièce, qui aurait été d'importance capitale, n'a pas été versée au dossier de la procédure. Dans de telles conditions, est-il possible d'en admettre comme certaine l'authenticité? Je ne le crois pas. Il n'en est pas besoin d'ailleurs pour établir que Bigot était coupable de pécumat et de malversation.

Passons à un autre exemple. Dans un grand nombre d'ouvrages relatifs au Marquis de Montcalm, on trouve une lettre qu'il aurait adressée de son lit d'agonie, au général Townshend, pour lui recommander les Canadiens. En voici le texte: "Général, l'humanité des Anglais me tranquillise sur le sort des prisonniers français et sur celui des Canadiens. Ayez pour ceux-ci les sentiments qu'ils m'avaient inspirés; qu'ils ne s'aperçoivent pas qu'ils ont changé de maîtres. Je fus leur père, soyez leur protecteur." Ces lignes ont certainement quelque chose d'émouvant et de pathétique. Le héros mourant donne une pensée suprême au petit peuple pour lequel il a versé son sang et, avant d'expirer, il le recommande à la générosité du vainqueur. Cela décore admirablement une page d'histoire.

Mais la lettre est-elle authentique? Nous l'avons cru longtemps. Tant d'auteurs l'avaient reproduite. Et les meilleurs, les plus réputés! Elle occupait une place d'honneur dans le livre de M. Charles de Bonnechose sur Montcalm, ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française en 1882. On y lisait: "Ces pauvres Canadiens, le mourant ne peut plus les défendre, mais il peut encore intercéder pour eux, et il se fait suppliant afin de donner aux vaincus le reste de sa vie." Général, écrit-il à Townshend, l'humanité des Anglais me tranquillise," etc. Un autre écrivain français, M. Baudoncourt, publie une histoire populaire du Canada; la lettre y paraît au bon endroit. "Montcalm écrivit encore d'une main tremblante ces lignes qui peignent son grand cœur, au général anglais: "Général, l'humanité des Aglais me tranquillise," etc. Voici une œuvre de plus ample envergure, le grand ouvrage de M. l'abbé Casgrain sur *Montcalm et Lévis*. L'éloquente petite lettre ne

pouvait manquer d'y faire son apparition. Et M. l'abbé Casgrain écrit: "A travers les ombres de la mort qui l'enveloppaient, Montcalm entrevit un dernier devoir public à remplir, celui d'implorer la clémence du vainqueur pour le peuple de colons dont la défense lui coûtait la vie. Il écrivit au successeur de Wolfe, le brigadier Townshend: "L'humanité des Anglais me tranquillise," etc. Evidemment, cette pièce devenait en possession d'un état civil presque inattaquable. M. Ernest Gagnon la respecta lorsqu'il parla incidemment de la mort de Montcalm, dans son livre si plein d'intérêt sur le Château Saint-Louis: Le vainqueur de Carillon, dit-il, mourut en soldat chrétien... Sa dernière préoccupation terrestre fut pour les Canadiens... Il dicta les lignes suivantes, qu'il fit adresser à Townshend, successeur de Wolfe: "Général, l'humanité des Anglais me tranquillise," etc.

Je manquerais de loyauté, si après avoir mis les autres en scène, je m'oubliais moi-même. Dans un article sur le livre de M. de Bonnechose, publié par les *Nouvelles Soirées Canadiennes*, en 1882, j'y allais, moi aussi, de ma petite phrase au sujet de la lettre de Montcalm. Je m'écriais: "Enfin au dernier moment, à l'heure des vœux suprêmes et des recommandations sacrées, lorsque les ombres de la mort s'étendent déjà sur sa mâle figure, il écrira au général Townshend: "Général, l'humanité des Anglais me tranquillise," etc.

Assurément, nous étions tous de bonne foi, lorsque marchant à la file indienne, nous reproduisions sans broncher le même document. Ce fut vingt ans seulement après avoir écrit l'article des *Nouvelles Soirées Canadiennes*, que le doute scientifique commença de naître dans mon esprit. Appelé à écrire de nouveau sur Montcalm, au moment où il s'agissait de raconter ses derniers instants, je me posai soudain cette question: "Mais la fameuse lettre, d'où provient-elle? Quelle en est la source? Où est l'original?" En la relisant avec plus d'attention, je la trouvai quelque peu singulière. Elle ne me sembla plus correspondre à la situation, ni au moment; elle ne me parut plus être l'expression naturelle des impressions, des sentiments, des préoccupations du général vaincu, à cette heure douloureuse. Déterminé à éclaircir le problème, je me livrai donc à une enquête ardue. Il importait d'abord de trouver dans quel ouvrage on rencontrait pour la première fois la lettre de Montcalm. Et après avoir parcouru une vingtaine de volumes, je constatai que c'était dans un livre intitulé *Montcalm en Canada*, publié en 1867, à Tournai, par le Père Martin, de la Compagnie de Jésus, écrivain érudit et consciencieux. Aucune indication de source n'accompagnait ce texte, jusque-là inédit. Le mystère subsistait. Cependant, par une étrange inadvertance, parmi les auteurs que j'avais consultés, j'avais omis Parkman. Réparant cet oubli, je trouvai au second volume de *Montcalm and Wolfe* la lettre en question. Mais le grand historien, presque impeccable en matière documentaire, avait voulu dégager sa responsabilité, et il avait ajouté cette indication: "I am indebted to abbé Bois for a copy of that note."

Nous tenions donc enfin l'auteur responsable de la mise au jour du document. L'abbé Bois, mort en 1889, ancien curé de Maskinongé, était un chercheur et un collectionneur. Son érudit était considérable, mais chez lui le sens critique laissait à désirer. C'était lui qui, évidemment, avait fourni au P. Martin, comme à Parkman, la lettre de Montcalm. Mais la question primordiale persistait. Où l'avait-il prise? Une recherche à fond dans ses papiers, légués au Séminaire de Nicolet, ne nous apporta aucune information. Il ne s'y trouvait rien du tout concernant la lettre à Townshend.

Était-il donc impossible de découvrir quelque mention de cette pièce dans les écrits et les mémoires contemporains? Nous nous imposâmes ce travail, avec un résultat absolument négatif. Marcel, le secrétaire de Montcalm, Johnstone, son aide-de-camp, Bougainville, Vaudreuil, Lévis, Knox, Joannès, Malartic, Bigot, Bernier, le Sieur de C., Foligé, Ramezay, etc., qui ont laissé des lettres, des journaux, des relations, relatifs au siège et à la capitulation de Québec en 1759, sont muets sur ce point. Townshend lui-même, celui qui aurait reçu la lettre de Montcalm, n'en fait aucune mention dans ses rapports ni dans ses lettres. Il n'en parle pas, n'y fait aucune allusion, en un mot, il semble n'en avoir jamais eu connaissance. Serait-il vraisemblable que Townshend n'eût pas mentionné une pièce si honorable à la fois pour le vainqueur et le vaincu, si elle eût existée?

Le général anglais a reçu une lettre de Montcalm. Mais elle diffère totalement de celle dont nous nous occupons. En voici le texte: —

“Monsieur, obligé de céder Québec à vos armes, j'ai l'honneur de demander à Votre Excellence ses bontés pour nos malades et blessés et de lui demander l'exécution du traité d'échange qui a été convenu entre Sa Majesté très chrétienne et Sa Majesté britannique. Je la prie d'être persuadée de la haute estime et de la respectueuse considération avec lesquelles j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

MONTCALM.”

Cette lettre est authentique. Elle est conservée dans les papiers du brigadier général Townshend. Pourquoi pas l'autre, si elle était réelle? Croit-on que le général mourant en a écrit deux au même homme, le même jour, en ce moment suprême où s'éteignait sa vie? Il a accompli son devoir de chef d'armée en traitant avec le commandant ennemi la question officielle du cartel d'échange. Mais s' imagine-t-on qu'il aura ensuite repris ou fait reprendre à son secrétaire la plume, pour faire des phrases sentimentales dans ce genre: “Je fus le père des Canadiens, soyez leur protecteur.” Cela peut fournir un thème heureux aux tirades pathétiques des historiens, des orateurs et des poètes; mais cela ne s'adapte ni aux circonstances, ni au caractère du héros; cela n'est ni dans la vérité du moment, ni dans la vérité de l'homme.

Mesdames et Messieurs, vous êtes maintenant en état de résumer aussi bien que moi la question. La lettre de Montcalm à Townshend — celle que nous discutons — n'est ni citée ni mentionnée dans aucun mémoire, dans aucun récit, dans aucun journal contemporain. Le texte n'en a été trouvé dans aucun dépôt d'archives, dans aucune collection publique ou privée de documents, de lettres et d'autres pièces historiques. Les papiers de Montcalm et de Townshend n'en contiennent aucune trace. Jusqu'en 1867, personne n'en avait jamais entendu parler. C'est le Père Martin qui l'a publiée le premier, probablement d'après une information de l'abbé Bois, puisque c'est ce dernier qui a fourni une copie à Parkman quelques années plus tard. Cette communication de M. Bois est dépourvue des garanties qu'on a droit d'exiger en pareil cas, la source où il aurait puisé restant absolument inconnue. Dans de telles conditions, il paraît impossible d'admettre l'authenticité de cette pièce.

Est-ce à dire qu'il faille mettre en doute la véracité de M. Bois? Loin de moi cette pensée. Il aura simplement manqué de sens critique et se sera probablement laissé tromper par une pièce apocryphe du genre des lettres qui ont été publiées à Londres en 1777, sous le nom de Montcalm, et dont celui-ci n'a jamais été l'auteur.

Après s'être enquis de l'authenticité, l'historien doit rechercher quelle peut être l'autorité du document qu'il veut utiliser. Une pièce peut être

authentique et cependant commander, quant à son emploi, une prudente réserve, ou exiger une clairvoyante interprétation. Il y a lieu de considérer ici l'autorité subjective et l'autorité objective.

L'autorité subjective est celle qui dépend de l'auteur du document. Prenez, par exemple, un historien européen qui se trouve en présence d'un mémorandum de Talleyrand. Il doit être sur ses gardes, quand aux allégations et aux commentaires, car, sans nuire à la réputation du célèbre diplomate on peut rappeler qu'il n'était pas précisément un modèle de droiture, et qu'on lui attribue ce mot: "La parole a été donnée à l'homme pour déguiser sa pensée."

Il importe également de bien discerner les motifs dont s'inspirent les rédacteurs de mémoires, de dépêches, de correspondances, que l'historien a rassemblés pour édifier son œuvre. La haine, l'antipathie, l'ambition déçue, l'intérêt lésé, l'amour-propre blessé, les rivalités nationales, les divergences religieuses sont autant de causes qui peuvent faire dénaturer les faits, altérer la vérité, fausser les appréciations, engendrer le mensonge ou l'injustice. Par exemple, vous avez sous les yeux une lettre où M. de Vaudreuil, au lendemain de la mort de Montcalm, porte contre celui-ci les accusations les plus odieuses. Ecartez cette pièce sans hésitation car elle est dictée par la haine et la rancune, manifestées déjà par l'auteur dans plusieurs circonstances.

L'autorité objective est celle qui découle du document lui-même, de sa nature, de son caractère. Une proclamation royale, des instructions ministérielles, un traité, une ordonnance, un acte de législation, constituent par eux-mêmes des preuves de première valeur. Cependant, ici encore, le sens critique doit s'exercer dans la compréhension et l'interprétation de ces pièces. Permettez-moi de vous en donner un exemple topique.

Le 7 septembre 1763, le roi George III adressait au général Murray nommé gouverneur du Canada, des instructions détaillées, qui contenaient l'article suivant: "29 — Vous devrez, aussi promptement que vous le pourrez, commander aux habitants de se réunir, aux temps et lieux que vous jugerez convenables, afin de prêter le serment d'allégeance, et de faire et souscrire la déclaration d'abjuration mentionnée dans le susdit acte passé dans la première année du règne du roi George premier pour la sécurité additionnelle de la personne de Sa Majesté et de son gouvernement, pour assurer la succession de la Couronne aux héritiers protestants de feu la princesse Sophie, et pour détruire les espérances du prétendu prince de Galles, ainsi que de ses partisans déclarés ou secrets; lequel serment leur sera administré par telles personnes que vous déléguerez à cet effet; et dans le cas où quelques-uns desdits habitants français refuseraient de prêter ledit serment et de faire et souscrire la déclaration d'abjuration susdite, vous devrez les expulser incontinent de votre susdit gouvernement."

D'après cet article des instructions royales, on devait donc exiger des Canadiens français deux choses: un serment d'allégeance et une déclaration d'abjuration. Le serment d'allégeance était tout indiqué d'avance; il découlait du changement de souveraineté politique consacré par le traité de Paris. Au lieu de rester sujets de la couronne française, nous devenions sujets de la couronne britannique. Mais la déclaration d'abjuration: Allait-on nous forcer de changer de religion, d'apostasier, et cela sous peine d'expulsion de notre pays, de ce Canada découvert, évangélisé, défriché, civilisé par nos aïeux?

Placés devant ce texte, nos historiens ont éprouvé un embarras assez compréhensible. Garneau s'est borné à enregistrer le fait dans les lignes suivantes: "L'ordre aussi avait été donné dans les instructions royales

d'exiger des Canadiens un serment de fidélité. M. Goldfrap, secrétaire du gouverneur, écrivait aux curés, trois ans après, que s'ils refusaient de le prêter, ils se préparassent à sortir du Canada; les autres habitants devaient subir le même sort s'ils négligeaient de prêter le même serment et de souscrire la déclaration d'abjuration."

Commentant le même document, M. l'abbé Laverdière a écrit à son tour: " Les instructions royales ordonnaient aussi qu'on exigeât des Canadiens le serment de fidélité, et ils reçurent avis que s'ils négligeaient de prêter ce serment et refusaient de souscrire une déclaration d'abjuration ils devraient se préparer à sortir du Canada. Le gouverneur n'osa pas faire exécuter les ordres touchant la déclaration d'abjuration." Cette dernière phrase indique bien quel sens l'historien donnait à l'article 29 des instructions royales. Le roi d'Angleterre commandait à la nation canadienne d'apostasier mais le gouverneur reculait devant la difficulté de faire exécuter un pareil ordre.

Remarquez bien que ce sens était le sens naturel. Mais c'était en même temps un sens inadmissible. Était-il possible que le roi d'Angleterre, que le gouvernement britannique eussent conçu l'idée de faire apostasier en bloc les catholiques canadiens, sous peine d'expulsion. Cela n'était pas concevable.

Mais alors il fallait trouver à ces mots " déclaration d'abjuration " un autre sens que le sens ordinaire. Et à cette fin, on devait recourir à la critique historique, en d'autres termes, faire une enquête.

Voulez-vous que nous la fassions ensemble? Ouvrons les vieux statuts anglais, les *Statutes at large*, et examinons quelle était la législation britannique relative à la prestation des serments officiels, au moment où le Canada passait sous la domination anglaise, en 1763. Sous l'autorité des statuts 25 Charles II, 1 Guillaume et Marie, et 1 George I, il y en avait quatre: Le serment du *test* dirigé contre le sacrement de l'Eucharistie; le serment d'allégeance, ou de fidélité au Souverain; le serment de suprématie ou de répudiation de l'autorité papale; le serment ou la déclaration d'abjuration. En quoi consistait ce dernier. Constituait-il un acte d'apostasie religieuse? Rien de tel. Le statut premier du roi George premier, qui en décrétait la prestation, avait uniquement pour objet de faire répudier et *abjurer* l'allégeance au prétendant Stuart. En voici la partie principale: " Je déclare solennellement et sincèrement que je crois dans ma conscience que la personne se prétendant prince de Galles durant la vie du feu roi Jacques, et, depuis son décès, prétendant être et prenant la désignation et le titre de roi d'Angleterre, sous le nom de Jacques III, ou d'Ecosse sous le nom de Jacques VIII, ou prenant la désignation et le titre de roi de la Grande-Bretagne, n'a aucun droit ni titre quelconque à la couronne de ce royaume, ou d'aucune autre possession qui lui appartienne; et je répudie, refuse et *abjure* toute allégeance ou obéissance envers lui." Voilà la seule *abjuration* que comportât ce serment ou cette déclaration. Abjuration politique et non abjuration religieuse. Dans la phraséologie constitutionnelle et statutaire on prit l'habitude de le désigner sous le nom d'*abjuration oath*. Et c'est de cette appellation que naquit l'équivoque dont nos historiens furent victimes.

Ainsi donc, en 1763, les serments qui furent exigés des Canadiens furent les serments d'allégeance à Georges III, et le serment d'abjuration de l'allégeance aux prétendants Stuart. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'était contraire à notre foi religieuse, et nos pères pouvaient les prêter en toute sécurité de conscience. Le second n'offrait pas plus d'objection que le premier; il n'en était que le corollaire légitime. Et le gouverneur n'avait nullement à crain-

dre le sentiment public, au point "de ne pas oser faire exécuter les ordres touchant la déclaration d'abjuration." Sans doute, de 1763 à 1774 — date de l'Acte de Québec—pour devenir fonctionnaire il fallut prêter le serment du *test* par lequel on répudiait l'Eucharistie. Et conséquemment, les catholiques se trouvaient exclus de toute charge officielle. Cette condition fut abolie en 1774. Et, à partir de cette date, les fonctionnaires eux-mêmes n'eurent plus à souscrire l'odieux serment du *test*.

Mesdames et Messieurs, je serais heureux si l'étude de ces quelques exemples avait pu vous donner une idée plus précise de l'objet et des procédés de la critique historique. Nous n'avons fait que jeter un coup d'œil sur ce vaste champ d'opération. Les cas peuvent être multiples et variables. Mais la méthode est la même. C'est l'examen des circonstances, des caractères, des sentiments; c'est la recherche de la source la plus lointaine et de la tradition la plus sûre; c'est la confrontation des textes et le contrôle des pièces les unes par les autres; c'est la vérification des documents et leur interprétation clairvoyante; c'est la progression du connu à l'inconnu en un mot, c'est l'enquête préliminaire portant sur les personnes, sur les témoignages, sur les écrits, sur tous les matériaux qui doivent entrer dans la construction de l'œuvre projetée.

Notre âge a été appelé avec raison l'âge de la critique. La vérité n'a rien à craindre d'elle. L'imposture ou le préjugé doivent seuls redouter ses rayons. Il y a sans doute une critique arrogante, orgueilleuse, partielle et agressive, qui aspire beaucoup plus à détruire qu'à vérifier. Mais la saine critique historique a un plus noble but. Son ambition est de rendre aux faits leurs proportions, aux époques leur physionomie, aux personnes leur figure, et cela dans une tranquille lumière qui ne laisse aucune place à la fiction, à l'incertitude ou à la fraude.

REPORT OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

The Management Committee is glad to be able to report a slow but steady growth in the membership of the association, throughout the Dominion, and an increasing interest in the work we are trying to do. It is a particularly happy circumstance that our membership is not only country-wide, but also very definitely representative of both races in Canada. We have at the present time about 165 members in the province of Quebec, a very large proportion of whom are French Canadian. It has always been one of the main objects of the association to further in every possible way the development of the most friendly relations between the two great races that make up the vast majority of our population, and it is realized that the most effective way of breaking down the walls of prejudice and misunderstanding that still to some extent divide us is to bring members of the two races into intimate relationship, working together toward a common object, as we are doing in the Canadian Historical Association. We have the privilege this year of serving under a president who is one of the most distinguished members of the French-Canadian race, and who is known and honoured as a scholar not only in Quebec but throughout Canada.

At the last annual meeting the president and the chairman of the Management Committee were instructed to appoint a special committee in connection with the proposed memorial to the western explorer David Thompson in Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal. The following are the

members of that committee: Thomas Chapais, L. J. Burpee, J. B. Tyrrell, Gustave Lanctot, J. M. Gibbon, C. N. Cochrane. The association having approved of the idea of a memorial, the details were left to the committee.

The committee took the matter up with M. Henri Hébert, the well-known sculptor of Montreal, who submitted a design of a shaft surmounted by a sextant, as typical of the notable life-work of exploration that made Thompson famous. Unfortunately, as you know, there exists no portrait of Thompson, and we know only in a general way what he looked like, so that a head or medallion is not practicable.

You will be glad to know that subscriptions to the Thompson Memorial Fund are now approximately \$800 which, with some additional amounts expected, will give us ample funds to carry out the work, without making use of the authority given us at the last annual meeting to draw on the association's funds for any amount needed to complete the amount, up to \$100.

At the last annual meeting authority was also given to the president and the chairman of the Management Committee to appoint a special committee to consider ways and means of appropriately celebrating in 1927 the bicentenary of the birth of General Wolfe. The committee was appointed, and consists, in addition to the President and Chairman, of Dr. A. G. Doughty, Mr. Ægidius Fauteux, Colonel William Wood, Dr. J. C. Webster, Dr. C. W. Colby, Prof. George M. Wrong, and Dr. Pierre Georges Roy.

This matter will be brought before you at the present meeting by Dr. Webster, and it is hoped that the discussion that follows may bring out some helpful ideas. In any event, it is recommended that the special committee be continued, and that it be given authority to mature plans for a suitable celebration next year. While the occasion will be the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Wolfe, it is felt that, in view of the peculiar relationship of Wolfe and Montcalm to each other and to this country, and their equal claims to the veneration of all Canadians, the celebration, in whatever form it may take, should honour the memory of both generals.

Also at the last annual meeting, the Management Committee was authorized to arrange if possible a plan of co-operation between the association and the two Canadian historical periodicals—*The Canadian Historical Review* and *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*. As a result of subsequent negotiations, arrangements have been completed whereby the members of this association receive the *Canadian Historical Review*. The association pays the *Canadian Historical Review* one dollar for each member's subscription, which is only one-half the regular price. To make this arrangement effective, the association must authorize the increase of the annual fee from \$2 to \$3. It is hoped that a similar arrangement can be made with the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, so that our members can be offered the alternative of either the English or the French review, or it may be practicable to arrange so that any member may receive both by adding another dollar to his fee.

The committee recommends that the first part of Section IV of the Constitution be amended so that it shall read: "The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, an English secretary, a French secretary, and a treasurer." It was the practice in the Landmarks Association, out of which this association grew, to have both an English and a French secretary, and there are obvious advantages in such an arrangement in a national organization such as ours.

The committee has not overlooked the scheme for a series of Outline Lectures in Canadian History, to which the association has been committed for the past two years. It is firmly convinced that these outline lectures would be of very great value, in connection with sets of lantern slides. Put at the disposal of high school teachers and others competent to use them, they would help to spread throughout the country sound ideas as to the causes and consequences of various events in Canadian history.

Perhaps the principal difficulty in carrying out the idea has been the fact that, while a number of competent students, men who have specialized in particular periods or incidents of Canadian history, are interested in the plan and willing to undertake the preparation of individual outlines, they are in every case so overburdened with other duties or commitments that it is difficult for them to find the time to carry out this particular task. The only outlines so far received are those prepared by Dr. Webster and Judge Howay. When a few more are in the hands of the committee, we hope to find means of reproducing both them and the accompanying sets of slides.

Three other projects which the association had tentatively adopted, to be carried out some time in the future, have been completed by individuals who, although they did the work independently, are nevertheless members of the association. The Oxford Press will publish this year an *Encyclopædia of Canadian History*, prepared by L. J. Burpee; the Macmillan Company a *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, by Stuart Wallace; and Thomas Nelson & Sons an *Atlas of Canadian History*, by L. J. Burpee.

In this connection, it should be noted that the Oxford Press is bringing out a new and revised thin-paper edition of *The Makers of Canada*, with additional volumes on Tupper, Laurier and Van Horne. The series is under the general editorship of W. L. Grant and George H. Locke. The Radisson Society of Toronto is publishing a series of reprints of famous Canadian books, including Paul Kane's *Wanderings of an Artist*, Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*, the *Voyages of Radisson*, Alexander Henry's *Travels*, De Gaspé's *Les Anciens Canadiens*, Mrs. Moodie's *Roughing it in the Bush*, and Mackenzie's *Travels*. The volumes are edited by such competent authorities as Dr. Colby, Professor MacMechan, Stephen Leacock, Professor Cappon, W. L. Grant, Martin Burrell, Jules Tremblay, Sir John Willison and Arthur Heming. The Ryerson Press has also put in the hands of a competent board of editors the preparation of a series to be known as *The Canadian Historical Studies*, which it is hoped will eventually become a library of historical research regarding Canada. The Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland is to publish a series of journals of the western fur trade, in seven volumes, under the general title *Fur Traders of the West*. Thomas Nelson and Sons have published a series of twelve large coloured pictures of Canadian history, seven of which are by Charles W. Jefferys and the rest by Henry Sandham. Others are to be added from time to time. The educational value of pictures of this kind can hardly be overestimated. A much more ambitious attempt to tell the story of Canada by means of pictures, along similar lines to the Yale Press *Pageant of American History*, will be described to you by Colonel Wood.

The committee feels that the association should note with particular approval the direct encouragement given by the province of Quebec to historical research by the competition instituted last year. Prizes of five hundred dollars were offered for the best study in each of the twelve following subjects: The Colonization of New France, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville,

the Martyrs of New France, Pierre Boucher de Grosbois, the Supreme Council of New France, Doctor Sarrazin, The Seignorial régime in Canada, Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye, Industry under the French régime, the first Parliament of Lower Canada, the History of a Canadian parish, Alexander Mackenzie. It is particularly to be noted that the Government, with characteristic broad-mindedness, threw the competition open to all, and provided that either English or French might be used.

As instructed by the association at its last annual meeting, the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior were approached with a view to increasing the public usefulness of our annual report by increasing its size. Both Mr. King and Mr. Stewart were very sympathetic, but, as will be seen by the following letter from the latter, nothing can be done at the present time:—

In reply to the application of the Canadian Historical Association for the publication of a larger annual report, I may say that for the last five years the Canadian National Parks Branch of this department has paid for the printing of the annual report of this association. The Dominion-wide activities of the association greatly stimulate local historical associations in the marking, restoring and preserving of historic sites of public interest, and it has been thought advisable to assist the association in its work as it has no other means of revenue except the fees collected for membership.

In previous years, the report has consisted of about sixty pages, which include a brief report of the activities of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of the Parks Branch. The cost of printing last year's report was \$496.65. If the size of the report is increased to 200 pages, it will cost about \$1,650 to publish.

The amount of money that we can provide for the work of the Historic Sites and Monuments division of the Canadian National Parks is extremely limited, and not more than \$500 can be spared for the publication of the report of the Canadian Historical Association.

I may mention that only last month at the request of the Prime Minister, I gave this matter my special attention, but was forced to the conclusion, at that time, that the limited moneys available would not permit of the additional expenditure involved.

Yours faithfully,

CHS. STEWART.

In September last the British Columbia Historical Association forwarded the following resolution, with a request that it should be brought to the attention of the Canadian Historical Association:—

Whereas at the last session of the House of Commons at Ottawa, a resolution was introduced for the purpose of considering a design for a new flag for Canada, and whereas the British Columbia Historical Association stands for the preservation of the traditions of our country, Therefore this meeting expresses its strongest disapproval of any attempt to substitute another flag for the Union Jack as the Canadian standard, And a copy of this resolution to be sent to the Canadian Historical Association.

Without expressing any opinion as to the desirability or otherwise of the proposal, a copy of the resolution of the British Columbia Historical Association was sent to each of the historical societies throughout the country for consideration and such action as it might think proper. So far as replies have been received, the concensus of opinion appears to be in sympathy with that of the British Columbia Historical Association. Your committee does not feel that it is either necessary or desirable that this association should take any action in this matter at the present time.

The committee has pleasure in reporting that the reports received from the various provincial and local historical societies throughout the country reveal an increasing interest in the very useful work which these societies are doing in stimulating public interest in Canadian history; gathering and preserving the materials for the history of provinces, counties and towns; and marking and protecting historical sites and buildings.

Among the monuments and other memorials that have been erected during the last twelve months to mark historical sites, the most important was the very fine Champlain monument at Orillia, Ont., unveiled on July 1, 1925. Under the auspices of this association, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, on April 24, 1926, laid the corner-stone of a building which covers the site of the old Court House of York. The corner-stone of the latter had been laid by Sir Peregrine Maitland on the same day in the year 1824, one hundred and two years before. Last summer a monument was unveiled on Gonzales Hill, under the auspices of the British Columbia Historical Association, to commemorate the search for the Northwest Passage and the early exploration of the straits by Juan de Fuca.

Here also we wish to record our appreciation of the good work being done, year after year, effectively but unobtrusively, by the National Sites and Monuments Boards of Canada and the Commission des Monuments Historiques de la Province de Québec. The latter has issued a very handsome report in two volumes *Les Monuments Commémoratifs de la Province de Québec*, very fully illustrated, and *Les Vieilles Eglises de la Province de Québec 1647-1800*, also with many illustrations. It may be proper also to mention here the published reports of the Public Archives of Canada, the Bureau of Archives of Ontario, the Quebec Archivist, and the Archives of other provinces.

The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal is arranging for the commemoration this year of the writing of Lescarbot's play in honour of Poutrincourt in 1606—the birth of the drama in North America. A tablet is to be placed in Fort Anne, and a book published containing the story of the play and its surrounding circumstances.

REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

C. N. COCHRANE

I

The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association took place at Ottawa on Monday and Tuesday, May 17 and 18. Through the courtesy of Dr. Doughty, the general sessions were held in the new wing of the Dominion Archives. Members of the Association, who had not recently visited the capital, had an opportunity of inspecting the beautiful addition to the Archives building, with its admirable facilities for preserving and exhibiting the manuscript and other treasures of the Public Archives of Canada. During the meeting, special exhibits of historical material, books, and pictures were on view. There was a gratifying attendance of members from all parts of the Dominion, the Maritime provinces being especially well represented.

The general sessions began on Monday afternoon. The president, the Hon. Thomas Chapais, opened the meeting by a brief address in French and English. The chairman of the Management Committee then read his report on the activities of the past year, and the secretary-treasurer presented the financial statement. These reports indicated that the affairs of the association were in a healthy condition.

The academic side of the program began with an address by Dr. A. G. Doughty, describing a new device—still nameless—for the reproduction of documents. This invention, which is an improvement on the photostat, makes it possible to produce exact copies of historical texts in any quantity, and the copies may be so reduced in size that a whole number of *Punch* is contained on a single page of paper. The text may then be read by means of a magnifying glass, or may again be enlarged to any size desired. Dr. Doughty suggested several ways in which this important device might be used to facilitate research. The next speaker, Mr. H. P. Hill of Ottawa, gave a most lively and entertaining account of the discussions which preceded the selection of Bytown as the national capital, emphasizing the prescience of Lord Dalhousie, whose keen eye had early detected the advantages of the site, and quoting from the editorial fulminations of the *Bytown Gazette* to illustrate the spirit in which the controversy was sustained. Mr. S. B. Watson of Toronto then outlined the considerations which must guide the action of publishers in selecting historical pictures for educational purposes in schools. A paper on Sir Howard Douglas, by Prof. Leo Harvey of the University of New Brunswick, described the significance of Douglas as one of the best of the early military governors. Mr. C. Marius Barbeau of Ottawa, taking as his title, "Pseudo-history among the Indians", discussed the methods by which tribal traditions could be made to yield significant historical material. "The First St. Lawrence Deepening Scheme" was the theme of a valuable paper on the development of that waterway, delivered by Mr. George W. Brown of Toronto. Major Gustave Lanctot then gave a very clear and succinct account of the organization of the courts under the *ancien régime*. The question of celebrating the Wolfe Bicentenary was again raised by Dr. J. C. Webster, and it was decided that the Association should continue to support the project. Col. William Wood concluded the program by discussing the possibility of a pictorial treatment of history for educational purposes.

On Monday evening, the presidential address was delivered by the Hon. Thomas Chapais in the hall of the Victoria Memorial Museum. Senator Chapais spoke in French, urging with great force the necessity of absolute veracity and exactitude on the part of historians, without which a sound reconstruction of the past is impossible. Following his address, a resolution was proposed by the Hon. Mr. Justice Mignault and seconded by Dr. A. G. Doughty, by which the thanks of the Association were conveyed to Senator Chapais for his services as president.

The past year marks an important stage in the life of the association. By an arrangement made with the board of editors of the *Canadian Historical Review*, members now receive copies of the *Review* as they are issued. To make this possible, the management committee had authorized an increase in the annual membership fee from \$2 to \$3, and this action of the committee was confirmed by a unanimous vote at the general business meeting. Negotiations are now being concluded whereby French-Canadian members may receive the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* as an alternative to the *Review*, or any member, upon payment of an additional dollar, may receive both journals. Members will thus have an opportunity of keeping in touch with the latest developments of research in either language.

The David Thompson Memorial Fund, which at the end of the year 1924-5 stood at \$525, has now reached the sum of approximately \$800.00.

The thanks of the association are due to the generosity of those who have contributed to the support of so worthy a project. A design for a gravestone, submitted by the committee in charge, was approved by the Association. This design consists of a fluted column surmounted by a sextant, which with the base will stand about nine feet in height. Thompson's remains lie in an unmarked grave in Mount Royal cemetery, Montreal, and money has still to be raised sufficient to ensure perpetual care of the lot. It is hoped that this may be done in time to permit of the unveiling of the monument during the autumn of the present year.

Herewith is appended a list of the officers elected for the coming year. It will be noted that Prof. G. M. Wrong of Toronto succeeds Senator Chapais in the presidency. M. Gustave Lanctot of Ottawa assumes the duties of French secretary. The number of councillors has been increased from six to nine, in order that there may be a more adequate representation by provinces,—

President, George M. Wrong, Toronto.

Vice-president, Arthur G. Doughty, Ottawa.

Chairman of Management Committee, Lawrence J. Burpee, Ottawa.

English Secretary and Treasurer, Charles N. Cochrane, Toronto.

French Secretary, Gustave Lanctot, Ottawa.

Auditor, Col. J. F. Cunningham, Ottawa.

Council (in addition to the above-named officers): Archibald MacMechan, Halifax; Leo Harvey, Fredericton; Pierre Georges Roy, Quebec; Ægidius Fauteux, Montreal; D. A. McArthur, Kingston; Chester Martin, Winnipeg; F. H. Underhill, Saskatoon; A. L. Burt, Edmonton; F. W. Howay, New Westminster.

Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks: James Coyne (chairman), Pemberton Smith, Mrs. J. B. Simpson, C. M. Barbeau, Harlan I. Smith, A. S. Morton.

II

Arrangements with the Canadian Historical Review and le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.—For some time the Management Committee had felt that the receipt of either or both of these journals by the members of the Canadian Historical Association would serve a useful purpose in keeping alive their interest in the development of historical research in the field of Canadian history in both languages. The committee, therefore, entered into arrangements with the editors of these journals whereby members should receive copies at a reduced rate. These arrangements were approved at the general annual meeting held in Ottawa in May, 1926, and mark a distinct advance in the work of the association.

Membership.—From the point of view of the secretary-treasurer it was necessary that there should be a very strict revision of the membership roll because of the financial obligation incurred in connection with the Review and the Bulletin. An effort was, therefore, made to eliminate so far as possible names of those who could no longer be regarded as active members and the secretary is pleased to report that the membership roll now contains the names only of those who are actively supporting the Association. It is gratifying also to note that the *entente cordiale* manifests itself in the fact that many members have asked for both journals and a considerable number of English members have asked for the French journal and *vice versa*.

The Wolfe Bicentenary.—At the annual meeting the question of celebrating the Wolfe Bicentenary was again discussed. A committee, with Dr. J. C. Webster as chairman, was reappointed.

David Thompson Memorial.—Owing to the efforts chiefly of the chairman of the Management Committee subscriptions have been received sufficient to warrant the executive in making a contract for the completion of this work. The artist chosen was Mr. Henri Hébert, R.C.A., of Montreal, and the design which he submitted was approved at the annual general meeting, the work to be finished in the autumn of 1926. For the benefit of those who were not at the annual meeting it might be stated that the memorial consists of a fluted column surmounted by a sextant, the whole to stand approximately nine feet high with an inscription recounting in brief the main achievements of David Thompson. It is interesting to note that the committee found that Thompson had been buried in a lot, the title to which was apparently invested in another name, and a certain proportion of the funds received had, therefore, to be devoted to securing rights to the grave and insuring perpetuity to the memorial. The names of subscribers up to April 30, 1926, are published in that portion of the financial report of the treasurer, entitled David Thompson Memorial Fund.

HISTORICAL PAPERS

PITT'S DECISION TO KEEP CANADA IN 1761

BY MARJORIE G. REID

The decision of British statesmen to keep Canada after the Seven Year's War has never been fully explained. The related question, "Why France lost Canada," has been frequently discussed: it can be answered by an analysis of the military and naval strength of the two nations. These same facts form, of course, a part of the answer to the question, "Why Britain kept Canada." If Quebec had not been conquered in 1759, Great Britain could not have won it by diplomacy in 1763. The ministers of Louis XV would not have surrendered without a struggle the colony which their predecessors had fondly named *La Nouvelle France*. I do not, however, propose to add anything to the very able studies which have been made of this branch of the subject. I mention it only in order to point out that the war did not necessarily settle the future of Canada. Great Britain was obliged to surrender some of her conquests. Why did she keep Canada?

The cession of Canada was the first stage in the negotiations between the two powers.¹ When diplomatic negotiations formally began, in the spring of 1761, Pitt gave to his ambassador, Hans Stanley, no definite instructions about the British terms except that the basis of negotiation should be the *uti possidetis*. The young diplomat was warned against being drawn unwittingly into any preliminary statement of terms. France, said Pitt, had been the aggressor and the loser, and it was for her to offer concessions. When Stanley reached Paris he reported that the French foreign minister, the Duke of Choiseul, had endeavoured by "cheerful dinners in the highest company" and by every art of conversation, to discover the intentions of the British ministry, especially in regard to Canada and Gaudeloupe. Stanley was on his guard, and the onus of making the first propositions fell upon the French. They were briefly set forth in a paper which is referred to in the British correspondence as the "Little Leaf" of June 17.²

"The proposals of the Duke of Choiseul to Mr. Stanley: He demands the restitution of Guadeloupe and Mariegalante, as well as of Goree, in exchange for the Island of Minorca: he proposes the absolute cession of Canada with the exception of Isle Royal, where no fortifications shall be built, and to confirm this cession France insists upon the preservation of the cod-fishery as it was established by the Treaty of Utrecht, and upon a definition of the boundaries of Canada in the region of the Ohio. . . ."

Pitt replied to this "breaking of Choiseul's mind" by an informal counter-memorandum on June 26. In it he accepted the cession of Canada,

¹ The formal memorials of the negotiation are most easily accessible in *Parliamentary History*, XV, p. 1018. The whole correspondence is in the State Papers, Foreign, France, 251-253, at the Public Record Office.

² Enclosed in Stanley to Pitt, June 18, 1761 (State Papers Foreign, France, 251).

but objected to the limitations which had been coupled with it. Canada must be ceded "whole and entire, not mutilated or dismembered." The later correspondence contains a protracted discussion about the southern boundary of Canada, and about the fisheries of Newfoundland, but the main question was not re-opened. The negotiations broke off in October, 1761, when Pitt resigned from his office over the dispute about the war with Spain. They were resumed by Bute late in the same year through informal agents, and brought to a conclusion in February, 1763. The cession of Canada was accepted by both parties at the beginning of these later discussions. During the debate in the House of Commons upon the preliminary terms of Bute's peace,³ Pitt commented once upon the surrender of Canada: "Of the dereliction of North America by the French, he entirely approved. But the negociators had no trouble in obtaining this acquisition. It had been the *uti possidetis* in his own negotiation, to which the French had readily consented."

In Pitt's correspondence with the Colonial Governors,⁴ and with the military and naval officers in America, he had never indicated a definite intention of keeping Canada. There is, however, ample evidence that he was deeply concerned about the security of the American Colonies. In 1756 his reason for taking the offensive against the French was "the danger to which North America stands exposed." Two years later he aimed at securing the undisputed possession of the Ohio valley. In 1759, in the midst of the peace conversations instigated by the King of Prussia, he warned Amherst not to allow rumours of approaching peace to impede the military activities. He was determined in January, 1760 that nothing should "jeopardize the completion of the conquest of Canada." In June, reports of the French counter-attack upon Quebec led him to fear a "fatal catastrophe" there. It is clear that he wished to conquer New France, but whether he intended to keep it, or to exchange it for some other position, is not revealed. He regarded the security of the Atlantic colonies as a primary object of the war, but he nowhere stated definitely to officials in America that he considered the entire exclusion of the French as essential to that end. All through the year 1759, while the British forces were converging upon Quebec, Pitt was unwilling to commit himself about the terms or peace. During a debate in the Commons on Louisbourg, Pitt had replied to a question by Sir John Philipps and Alderman Beckford by saying that it was too early yet to decide what we would or would not restore.⁵

The most direct information about Pitt's share in the early Cabinet discussions upon the terms of peace is to be found in the Newcastle Papers, now in the British Museum. During the summer of 1759 the Prussian Ministers in Britain, Knyphausen and Michel, had sounded the British Ministers about the possibility of terminating the war. Their activities were favoured by Newcastle,⁶ whose natural timidity led him to fear the ill effects of a long war. Knyphausen held several conversations with Pitt without, however, drawing from him any statement of preliminary terms.

³ December 9, 1762 (Parl. Hist. XV, p. 1264).

⁴ *Correspondence of William Pitt, when Secretary of State with colonial governors and military and naval commissioners in America*, ed. Gertrude Selwyn Kimball (New York, 1906).

⁵ Walpole, *George II*, vol. III, p. 150.

⁶ British Museum, Addit. MSS. 32896, f. 36: Newcastle to Hardwicke, Sept. 22, 1759.

He was waiting until the end of the year's campaigns in America. On October 12 Knyphausen reported to Newcastle a conversation with Pitt: "He told me that, by what he could learn, Mr. Pitt did not think of keeping Louisbourg: but whether he would demolish it, or not, before it was given up, he did not know: he also thought Mr. Pitt had no notion of keeping Quebec, but that we should keep masters of the Lakes, Crown Point, Niagara, etc."⁷ A line through the Great Lakes was at that time being generally discussed in London. The Earl of Kinnoul spoke of it to Newcastle on October 17.⁸ In January, 1760 the Earl of Morton suggested to Newcastle a modification which would carry the boundary as far north as the Ottawa River and the north shore of Lake Huron.⁹ The Earls of Newcastle and Hardwicke supported the idea. They favoured conciliatory terms, in order speedily to terminate the war. "If you keep Quebec," wrote Hardwicke to Newcastle, "you must keep all Canada, and Louisbourg as the key to it, and is that possible without fighting on forever?"¹⁰ One person of consequence, however, was not satisfied with the proposed restitutions in America—George II. On October 15 Newcastle reports to Hardwicke, "His Majesty then exclaimed against the restitutions in America, and, I hear, told the secretaries this day that Quebec must not be given up—we should never be safe there, if it was."¹¹

On the following day news arrived that Quebec had been surrendered to the British forces. Newcastle was thrown into a state of perturbation at the thought of reaching a decision about its future. Anticipations of difficulty of finding revenue for another year of war inclined him still to peace. The recent victories had, however, raised the spirits of the populace; they were inflamed by the hope of further victories if the war should continue. The attitude of Pitt was dubious. Holdernes, the other secretary of state, was a mere cipher, "Pitt's footman," and the King was opposed to concessions. "I shall have a fine work upon my hands," wrote Newcastle to Hardwicke, half suspecting his own ineffectiveness, "if I was to attempt settling ideas, and opinions, with the two present secretaries of state: especially informed as I am, or suspecting as I do, what is His Majesty's opinion as to peace, in general, and the particular terms of it."¹² The Earl replied with a candour only equalled by his courtesy, "Besides the King and your Grace there is but one man material in this consideration, and that is Mr. Pitt: and, in the present situation, whatever he will espouse and support will probably go down with the populace."¹³ Pitt still reserved his judgment, although he deplored the extravagance of the King's demands, suspecting that they were made in order later to purchase concessions from the French in Germany. Pitt was at this time trying to maintain friendly relations with the two minor Bourbon powers, Spain and Naples, and he knew that they would resent excessive demands upon France, especially if these should disturb the equilibrium of power in America. In writing to Hardwicke about the news from Quebec, Pitt

⁷ Addit. MSS. 32897, f. 32: Newcastle's memorandum of a conversation with Knyphausen.

⁸ Addit. MSS. 32897, f. 178: Kinnoul to Newcastle, Oct. 17, 1759.

⁹ Addit. MSS. 32901, f. 290.

¹⁰ Addit. MSS. 32897, f. 138, Hardwicke to Newcastle, Oct. 16, 1759.

¹¹ Addit. MSS. 32998, ff. 148, 378: Memoranda of the Duke of Newcastle; 32897, f. 87 and 35419, f. 6: Newcastle to Hardwicke, Oct. 15, 1759.

¹² Addit. MSS. 32897, f. 285: Newcastle to Hardwicke, Oct. 22, 1759.

¹³ Addit. MSS. 32897, f. 350: Hardwicke to Newcastle, Oct. 24, 1759.

tempered his satisfaction with an uneasy reference to the difficulty of drawing up such a peace as would please everybody. On the following day he admitted to Newcastle that the King talked unreasonably about peace.¹⁴ On October 31 he discussed the terms of peace more frankly with Newcastle who, as usual, reported the conversation to Hardwicke:—

"I mentioned to your Lordship, that Mr. Pitt had much ridiculed the King's way of talking about the conditions of peace, and the retaining *all our conquests*. He seem'd really desirous of peace, this winter, and upon reasonable terms—saw the difficulties of carrying on the war in Germany, for want of men—was desirous to keep Senegal, and Gorée—seem'd more indifferent about *Guadaloupe*,—supposed, we must have Minorca again, and by his manner of discourse, I should think by keeping possession of Niagara, the Lakes, Crown Point, and a proper security for our own colonies, the Bay of Fundy, etc., was all that he had at present determined. That, as to Quebec, Montreal, and even Louisbourg, they were points to be treated upon—not to be given up for nothing: but what might deserve consideration and be proper matter of negotiation."¹⁵

In February, 1760, news came through the Prussian ambassador that France was willing to surrender Canada.¹⁶ Sir Andrew Mitchell, the British Ambassador at Berlin, corroborated the report in a "most secret" letter to Holderness: "He [Frederick] seems however to believe that France wishes for peace, and he added, that by the information he had from that country, they would be willing to purchase it with the loss of Canada."¹⁷ Frederick was at this time working for a general pacification. His wish may have been father to his report, for the French officially denied having made any such proposition.¹⁸ Frederick's suggestion was probably based upon a sentence from a letter written at this time by Choiseul to Voltaire, and forwarded by the latter to Frederick. The private correspondence of Choiseul and Voltaire was a regular channel for unofficial communications with the King of Prussia. "Let him [Frederick] know," wrote Choiseul, "that in spite of our losses and as a result of his own losses, although the King may lose for a time his possessions in America, he is still able, if he so wishes, to annihilate the power of Prussia."¹⁹ Choiseul was probably reconciled to the loss of Canada—he had never shown much interest in northern colonies—but he was not yet ready to make an official proposal.

The accession of George III brought nearer the chances of peace, because he was not, like George II, anxious to prolong the war in order to win territory in Germany. During the summer of 1760, while success was coming to British arms abroad, he opposed all suggestions of peace. Victory was steadily improving Britain's position in regard to France. Pitt occupied himself solely with the conduct of the war. The capture of Montreal drew from him no comments about peace. Finally, in December

¹⁴ Addit. MSS. 32897, f. 173: Heads of Mr. Pitt's conversation, Oct. 17, 1759.

¹⁵ Addit. MSS. 32897, f. 512.

¹⁶ Addit. MSS. 32998, f. 378: Memorandum for My Lord Mansfield, of a conversation with Knyphausen, the Prussian minister.

¹⁷ *Memoirs and Papers of Sir Andrew Mitchell*, ed. Bisset (London, 1850): Mitchell to Holderness, Jan. 16, 1760.

¹⁸ Addit. MSS. 32902, f. 408: Newcastle to Sir Joseph Yorke, Feb. 26, 1760.

¹⁹ *Choiseul et Voltaire d'après les lettres inédites*, ed. Pierre Calmettes (Paris, 1902): Choiseul to Voltaire, Dec. 20, 1759. See also Choiseul to Voltaire, May 25, 1760, and Mitchell to Holderness, July 31, 1760 (*Mitchell Memoirs*, op. cit.).

he vouchsafed to outline the alternatives in a conversation with the Prussian ambassador, without, however, committing himself to either of them.

"He divided his propositions thus, either to retain all Canada, Cape Briton, and exclude the French from their fishing on Newfoundland, and give up Guadaloupe and Gorée, or retain Guadaloupe and Gorée with the exclusion of the French Fishery on Newfoundland, and give up some part of Canada, and confine ourselves to the Line of the Lakes, etc. . . . He did not talk of one of them as *sine qua non*s."²⁰

This state of uncertainty was not broken until early in April, 1761, when Newcastle heard, through a friend upon whom he could "absolutely depend," that France was willing to surrender Canada.²¹ By the middle of the month Pitt had communicated his final decision to the King and the Ministers:—

"Mr. Pitt said, he had laid his thoughts fully before the King . . . that he thought the total destruction of the French in the East Indies, the probability of taking Martinico, and the effect that this expedition on Belisle might have, as well as the probable events of this campaign, would enable us to get a peace, which should secure to us, all Canada, Cape Breton, the Islands, the Harbours, the fisherys and particularly the exclusive fishery of Newfoundland. That if he was ever capable to sign a treaty without it he should be sorry, *that* he had ever got again the use of his right hand."²²

Pitt's decision to retain Canada was practically a final settlement of the question. His popularity was at its height, the machinations of George III to oust from the cabinet the only man strong enough to oppose a "patriot king," though begun in January, 1761, had not perceptibly weakened Pitt's influence. He was strong enough first to keep the cabinet and the foreign diplomats waiting for a year and a half while he made up his mind about the future of Canada, and then to settle the whole question in one brief interview with the king.

The long period of hesitation is an interesting commentary both upon the quality of Pitt's statecraft and upon the prevalent opinion as to the value of Canada. Pitt's strength was never the so-called strength of the obstinate man who determines upon a certain object and grimly fights until he obtains it. His decisions were final, at least when they concerned matters of critical importance, but he arrived at them without undue haste. The value of Canada was at that time uncertain. It must never again, he knew, become a base of attack upon the thirteen colonies, but perhaps that evil could be prevented and the broader interests of the nation better served by defining accurately the boundary between the two powers in America. In the spring of 1761 almost nothing was known in England about the economic possibilities of Canada. Two or three years later this ignorance had been partially dispelled by the reports of military officers stationed in the newly conquered territory, and by the letters of merchants who were beginning to exploit its resources. Both among Pitt's private papers, and in the pamphlets there is evidence that by 1763 opinion about Canada was changing. But in 1761 the only commercial argument in its favour was brought forward by the more advanced economists who wished to widen the American market. It was not, however, obviously necessary to give the colonists a whole continent before they could go in

²⁰ Addit. MSS. 35420, f. 129: Newcastle to Hardwicke, Dec. 3, 1760.

²¹ Addit. MSS. 35420, f. 239: Newcastle to Hardwicke, Ap. 4, 1761.

²² Addit. MSS. 35420, f. 245: Newcastle to Hardwicke, Ap. 17, 1761.

and possess it: their immediate hinterland might satisfy their present needs and the ambitions of the English manufacturers. The case for retaining Canada was by no means clear on these grounds. Pitt's hesitation seems to have come near to causing the loss of Canada in the winter of 1759-60, when his Prussian ally was urging peace, and the strain of the war was taxing the British treasury. At this juncture the stubbornness of George II may have prevented an offer to treat about the restoration of Canada. Canada owed much to the Hanoverians in these dubious early years of her history. She owed the Quebec Act in great measure to the determination of George III: it is possible that she owed her status as a member of the British Commonwealth to the German tenacity of George II.

The new elements which brought Pitt to his sudden decision of April, 1761, were, without doubt, the military and naval victories of 1760, and the unsolicited offer by France to cede Canada. Newcastle's timidity, though comprehensible, was not justified. Britain had found the resources for another year of war, and, moreover, she had every prospect of making further conquests in the campaigns which were just beginning. Pitt could not, however, keep all his conquests: he would probably have to choose between Canada and Guadeloupe. When he outlined the two alternatives in a confidential interview with the Prussian ambassador in December, 1760, he realized that one or other of these conquests must be given up, and in his earliest reply to Choiseul's proposals the surrender of Guadeloupe was foreshadowed. At the crucial moment the choice between Canada and Guadeloupe seems to have been precipitated by the court of France. Choiseul's first unofficial suggestion to the King of Prussia that France might have to surrender her possessions in America was corroborated in April, 1761. Immediately afterwards Pitt communicated his decision to the king. The choice of France was accepted, and the future of Canada was settled. It is significant in this connection that France did not at any future time attempt to recover Canada. During the Revolutionary War, Lafayette had a romantic notion of restoring the French Empire in America, but we have indisputable evidence that he was not supported by the French minister in that intention. Vergennes had been educated in the school of Choiseul. Neither of them thought that France's greatness depended upon the possession of colonies in the northern hemisphere. In the eighteenth century only a great manufacturing and trading nation could afford to maintain such colonies, for only to such a people had they a commercial value. By her decision of 1761 Britain attached to her empire a colony that had been left derelict (the word is almost justified) by France. Its future development was due partly to its great, unsuspected resources, partly to British enterprise, and partly to the breaking up of the first Empire. The first decision to retain it in 1761 seems, like many momentous choices, to have been reached almost by chance, yet destiny was already revealing itself in the reasons which brought about the decision. Pitt's policy was in keeping with the destiny of Great Britain. He had determined to make the American colonies safe, for he thought that they were necessary to the greatness of his country, and by conquering and keeping Canada for them he assured Britain of a second chance to build up a colonial empire. Like the more progressive economists of his day he valued continental colonies in the temperate zone because they

provided markets for British manufactured goods; what was this opinion but an evidence of the industrial revolution of which Britain was the first to take advantage? France, on the other hand, was not anxious to keep Canada. Her greatness was on the continent of Europe. Choiseul's choice, like Pitt's, was in keeping with the destiny of his nation.

Such was the course of events by which Canada came finally into British hands. It is now possible, without interrupting the narrative, to inquire further into the sources of the opinion which Pitt and the ministers held. Upon what grounds did they reach their conclusions about the strategic and commercial advantages of acquiring more territory in America? The decision to keep Canada is usually explained by a reference to the periodical literature of the time.

The closing events of the war occasioned one of those pamphlet controversies which was so characteristic an expression of eighteenth century opinion. From the beginning of the controversy in 1759 to the end of 1763 at least one hundred pamphlets were written to discuss the terms of the French peace: probably many more have been entirely lost. The most complete list of pamphlets on the Peace of Paris, that of Mr. Alvord in his *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*,²³ reveals the fact that many which are not now accessible in England have been preserved in American collections, notably in the collection of the John Carter Brown Library. In the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library at Oxford copies of about half of Professor Alvord's list have been preserved, and these libraries contain about an equal number which have not been noted by him. A careful examination of the whole series fails, however, to disclose any consensus of opinion. The writers were distracted by the complex issues of the treaty. The question of the demands which should be made upon France was a matter not only of political principle, but of private interest. There were chauvinistic patriots who would hear of nothing but keeping everything that Britain had gained during the war, and advocates of peace at any price. There were many who, from political conviction or party jealousy, wished to cry down one or other of the ministerial factions. The merchants showed great diversity of opinion. Some, especially the manufacturers of woollen goods, were concerned in the unhindered development of the American colonies, since the best market for British goods was among the settlers and traders of the interior. It was also maintained that, if the menace of border attacks by French Indians were removed, and the colonists were encouraged to occupy themselves with the agricultural settlement of the west, they would be less apt to set up rival manufactures. The West Indian merchants were divided. Some urged that the British should retain the French islands and with their products "corner" the European market; others, apparently those who were benefited by the narrow monopoly of the Jamaica sugar industry, feared competition in the home markets, and opposed, on that account, the acquisition of new islands. In this welter of conflicting interests the question of Canada's future was frequently lost; it is impossible to deduce from the pamphlets any general opinion.

It is equally impossible, with a few exceptions, to establish a connection between the pamphlets and any official decision. The pamphlet was the most irresponsible stage in the history of the British newspaper.

²³ Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., 1917.

Poorly printed tracts by anonymous writers, bearing no name except that of the printer, often marred by gross errors in fact and by scandalous personal attacks—what weight could they have with ministers of state? Only once or twice were they referred to during the parliamentary debates on the peace. Newcastle, in his private correspondence, mentions one or two with approval. Pitt was probably influenced by one—Franklin and Jackson's *Interest of Great Britain Considered*—but in this case the authors were men whom he occasionally consulted in person. For the rest, we have it upon his own authority that he did not read them. He took his information about the opinion of the country from other, more responsible persons. It is significant that the authorship of all the important pamphlets can be traced with a fair degree of certainty. The first pamphlet of the series was *A Letter addressed to two Great Men on the Prospect of Peace*, generally ascribed to John Douglas, bishop of Salisbury. The author advised retaining all the British conquests in America, including Canada, "otherwise you lay the foundation of another war", but he was willing to cede the fishing privileges formerly granted by the thirteenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht, with Cape Breton, unfortified, as a shelter for French fishing vessels. The value of Canada was strategic: its possession would guarantee the safety of the Atlantic colonists. Other conquests, Guadeloupe and the West African ports of Senegal and Goree, though more remunerative, should not be insisted upon as necessary conditions of peace. This pamphlet was probably written at the request of the Earl of Bath, the patron of John Douglas, and a Whig who moved in official circles. It was first noted by Newcastle on December 24, 1759,²⁴ and by Jenkinson in the Grenville Papers on December 25, 1759.²⁵

Before the end of January, 1760, came a reply in *Remarks on the Letter addressed to Two Great Men*, written, probably by William Burke. William Burke was a kinsman and close companion of Edmund Burke. William Burke later became Secretary for Guadeloupe (1762) and Under-Secretary of State during the Rockingham Ministry. He criticized the demands of the first writer as being too extravagant. England had gone to war to establish fixed boundaries for Canada, not to annex it; its entire possession was not essential to the security of the British colonies. Its financial value was slight and Britain already had enough of the northern commodities which it produced. Moreover, danger lurked in the unchecked expansion of the more independent colonies. "The possession of Canada, far from being necessary to our safety, may, in its consequences, be even dangerous. A neighbour that keeps us in some awe is not always the worst of neighbours. . . . There is a balance of power in America as well as in Europe, which will not be forgotten."

These two pamphlets define clearly the actual alternatives in regard to the future of Canada. The security of the American colonists was the chief consideration—both authors were so far in agreement. Could this object be secured by defining the southern boundary of Canada or was it necessary to retain the whole St. Lawrence valley? This, it seems, was the point actually under discussion at the Cabinet meetings; the inspiration of these pamphlets was probably official.

²⁴ Addit. MSS. 32900, f. 276.

²⁵ *The Grenville Papers*, ed. William James Smith (London, 1852).

The important pamphlet of Franklin and Jackson, published in April or May, 1760, was probably an invited expression of their own opinion. Benjamin Franklin was at this time acting as agent in London for several of the Atlantic colonies. Their pamphlet, which bore the cumbersome title *The Interest of Great Britain Considered, With Regard to the Colonies, and the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadeloupe*, was an answer to William Burke's *Remarks*. Its authors attacked Burke's theory that a settlement of the ancient boundary dispute would establish peaceful relations in America. Canada must be retained in its entirety. It was not likely to bring pecuniary advantage, but its possession would tend to increase the agricultural population of America and the market for British manufacturers. The popular theory that northern nations should acquire colonies in the tropics in order to complement their own products was not supported by experience. Trade was often most brisk between countries in the same climate. British trade to the American continent was increasing rapidly with the growth of settlement and wealth. On the other hand, the West Indian trade had not increased in recent years; it would always be limited by scantiness of territory and population. This was the other great argument for retaining Canada—an argument which showed the influence of new economic doctrines which had come with the industrial revolution to Great Britain. William Temple Franklin claims that Benjamin Franklin was consulted by Pitt during the peace negotiations. This is probably true, as we know that the elder Pitt had a high opinion of Franklin's judgment upon colonial questions.

No other pamphlets of the time had a marked influence upon the Ministers' policy regarding Canada. Most of the pamphlets were published after April, 1761, when the actual decision was made. In its later stages the public controversy did affect the policy of Bute's Ministry in regard to the boundary of Louisiana, but that is a question which lies outside the scope of this paper.

Among Pitt's private papers are a few documents which reflect his opinion upon these and other pertinent issues. The Earl of Chatham was the most reticent of British statesmen. At no time in correspondence or in personal intercourse did he indulge in those statements of general policy which delight the political historian. In all his collection of papers there is no direct statement of his views about Canada. There are, however, among the comparatively few documents which he preserved, several which bear upon the issues raised by the pamphlets. These documents point, almost without exception, to the necessity and advantages of retaining Canada. They confirm the accepted opinion of Pitt as pre-eminently an advocate of colonies and commerce. He probably supported the advocates of continental expansion as against the advocates of insular expansion. The most significant of his early papers is endorsed "Robert Dinwiddie's state of His Majesty's colonies and plantations in America, September, 1743."²⁶ It must have been considered important, as abstracts of it appear elsewhere in the Chatham collection. Robert Dinwiddie, at that time an officer of the revenue in the West Indies, later became lieutenant-governor of Virginia. The document is a statement in round figures of the relative values to Britain of her continental and West Indian colonies. The population of the continental colonies is shown to be greater than the population of the British West Indies. The former employed many more British ships in their carrying trade in addition to supporting a mercantile

navy of their own; they consumed nearly as much English merchandise as the island colonies; the volume of their external trade was greater and it remained chiefly within the Empire.

The next document in chronological order, in which the acquisition of Canada is directly mentioned, is a long paper written by William Vaughan in 1745, and entitled "Remarks on the state of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia and Canada."²⁷ The author describes himself as a native of New Hampshire and a projector of the recent expedition against Cape Breton. He had come to London after the conquest of Louisbourg to urge upon the ministers the wisdom of acquiring all the French possessions in America. His immediate desire was to found a Protestant settlement in Nova Scotia, but his plans were not limited to the maritime provinces. He gives a glowing description of "Canada River," its length, the fertile soil upon its banks, the natural products of the country through which it flows, and the industries which may be set up there under British enterprise. "If the nation of Great Britain had these northern countries with quiet and good management, what glorious things might come thereof?.....According to the best apprehensions, to have these northern colonies entirely to ourselves would be of more consequences to the nation than if they had all the Spanish West Indies." To support his claim he appends a curious "Testimonial showing that the French possessions on the River of Canada do originally and of right belong to the Crown of Great Britain;" in this he claims the St. Lawrence gulf and valley for Britain by reason of the voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot. William Vaughan's efforts were fruitless at the time—the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle disappointed all the hopes of the colonists, but his arguments bore fruit fifteen years later.

Among the papers which the Earl of Halifax sent to Pitt from the Board of Trade was an unsigned letter on America dated June 1, 1755, ²⁸ which anticipated many of the public discussions of later years. The author begins with a comparison of the French and English colonies in America, and recommends a vigorous prosecution of the military campaigns. England should not be distracted by European issues from the conquest of Canada. The French West Indies would be "an easy purchase for Canada." The anonymous author of this letter anticipated the argument which William Burke was to bring forward in 1761—the possible loss of the American colonies if their hostile neighbours were removed,—

"An objection to a plan of this tendency may arise, my lord, from the projects of independency which a consciousness of growing strength and the annihilation of French power might give birth to, in our American colonies, and therefore a ballance of power between the two peoples there might be more advantageous to the two crowns; but besides the moral impossibility of fixing such an equality of power, by no means the aim or end of the French, an upright and steady government will always have due weight with the bulk of a people, whatever be the practices of some turbulent or ambitious spirits."

The letter goes on to discuss another point of subsequent controversy—the possibility of securing the colonies by military establishment at their own expense—and advances the curious suggestion that Canada should be erected into a Kingdom for Prince Edward. "a greater, more rational and permanent accession of strength to this Kingdom and its Royal family than the wearing of so many crowns by the house of Bourbon, in different parts of Europe can possibly be to that country or to France".

²⁶ Chatham Papers, volume 95, volume 85 (2).

²⁷ Chatham Papers, volume 98, section 2.

²⁸ Chatham Papers, volume 95.

Pitt's first direct correspondent upon the subject of Canada was Mr. Ephraim Biggs, who wrote from Philadelphia on April 2, 1759.²⁹ Although he is not employed in any position of trust under the Crown; he is impelled to write, he explains, by his concern for the safety of the country and (the reader discovers) by his wish to become the advance agent of a new colony in the western hinterland. His lack of skill in writing is atoned for by his knowledge of conditions on the frontier and by his blunt honesty in stating his views. His argument is mainly a statement of the strategic importance of Canada and the constant menace to the border colonists from French and Indian raids. He was afraid of a partial settlement and the restoration of Quebec while British power was being extended in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The possession of Louisbourg, though good in itself, could never guarantee the safety of the inland frontiers. Even a line of barrier fortresses would be useless for battered outposts could never protect the colonists from Indian raids. Mr. Ephraim Biggs indulges in an occasional outburst of vigorous indignation against ill-informed gentlemen who presume to write about American affairs. One is tempted to quote from the letter, but it would be impossible to do it justice without giving lengthy extracts.

The most interesting of all the documents in Pitt's collection was sent to him on December 20, 1759, by William Paterson. It consists of a covering letter with an enclosure "Considerations on a future Peace, etc., as it relates to Great Britain only".³⁰ The author explains in the letter that he has been induced by Granville, and the Marquis of Tweeddale, to submit his conclusions to Pitt. The paper reached Pitt while the subject was actually being discussed, and its writer shows an accurate knowledge of the alternatives and a wise moderation in debating them. Another copy of this paper, signed with initials only, and without the covering letter, is among the Newcastle Manuscripts.³¹ Waddington³² has assumed from the initials that the document was written by Pitt. Mr. Basil Williams in his *Life of Chatham*³³ refers to the document, under the initials only. I have been unable to discover anything more about this William Paterson. One is tempted to look for a family connection between him and William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, and originator of the Darien colony, but it has been impossible, as yet, to establish any such connection. The proposition laid down by the author is this: "It is more the interest of Great Britain to extend, improve and secure her colonies and trade in America, than to recover any old or to make any new acquisitions in Europe." Some equivalent must be secured for the money that had been spent upon the war. Let us keep all the French possessions in America, suggests the writer, and so avoid the necessity for settling a long-standing dispute about boundaries. If, however, it should be necessary to restore Quebec and Cape Breton, a boundary should be fixed along the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, lakes Huron and Michigan, the Illinois River and the Mississippi. It would then be necessary to erect strong fortifications at Crown Point, Albany, Oswego, Niagara and the river St. John, to improve the communications between these points and build fleets on lakes Champlain, Ontario, and Erie. The expense might, in part, be laid upon

²⁹ Chatham Papers, volume 96.

³⁰ Chatham Papers, volume 96.

³¹ Addit. MSS. 32897, f. 484.

³² *La Guerre de Sept Ans* (Paris, 1899-1907), III, 540.

³³ Volume II, page 18, note 1.

the colonies themselves, and the increase in trade and revenues would, in all probability, cover the remaining charges. Money laid out in America among their own subjects would return to them either in goods or in remittances—the usual argument of the pamphleteers who favoured northern colonies.

This very brief summary of a few of Pitt's papers will indicate their contents. They might at some time be printed *in extenso*, for they set forth often more vigorously than the pamphlets, the general arguments in favour of retaining Canada, and we know that Pitt read and valued them. Each of them has an individual quality which cannot be displayed in brief extracts. The purposes of this study will have been served if some light has been thrown by them on the dark processes of Pitt's decision. The arguments which moved him were, of course, ideas which appear frequently in the pamphlets. If this had not been true, Pitt would not have been the trusted leader of the merchant public. It is, nevertheless, interesting to notice which arguments he favoured in the general mass of contradictory reasoning, and how much he valued direct knowledge of the situation in America. In every case but one the authors of these documents had lived for a long period in America, and had known, by personal experience, the dangers to which the colonists were exposed. It was characteristic of Pitt to take such men as his advisers, without regard to their connections or scholarly attainments. If all secretaries of state had shown an equal regard for colonial opinion, the disaster of 1776 might have been averted.

THE LETTERS OF SIR HOWARD DOUGLAS

(*The New Brunswick Civil Letter Book, 1824-1826*)

By Professor LEO HARVEY, University of New Brunswick

Major General Sir Howard Douglas was a soldier who served under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular War and was Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick from 1824 until 1831. There is a comprehensive article on his life in the Dictionary of National Biography by the late H. Manners Chichester; much shorter account in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica; and a volume, now out of print, by the late Stewart Watson Fullom, "at one time his private secretary," which is a complete life. This is especially interesting for the early period of Douglas's life, but as regards his work in New Brunswick, it is disappointing, because, if he had access to the Letters, as he seems to have done, he does not appear to have made full use of them. This Life is a good one, so far as one can gather, but it is very Victorian, that is, Victorian of a certain kind. That does not imply that Tennyson was not a great poet, or that Queen Victoria was neither good nor great. But, for example, the description by Fullom of what Sir Howard did in the great fire, the Miramichi fire of 1825, is a long one, full of rhetoric, which is less effective than a quotation from the Letters themselves would have been. The writer of these letters wrote in a distinct, restrained, and military style, though none the less literary. Most of the letters are brief, fascin-

ating in their concise courtesy, but instant in the disposal of business, so that when he permits himself to write at any length, the effect is remarkable.

There is a miniature portrait of Sir Howard in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Berkely Portman, of Dorchester, Dorset, and there is a copy in monochrome of this in the Library of the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B. "It is," writes Mrs. Portman, "an exceedingly fine miniature and an admirable likeness, but it is not signed and it is now impossible to trace the artist." It has been remarked by those who have seen copies of this portrait that it shows a "face of which one can believe anything good."

The letter book, that is the original MS. is in the possession of the family. A copy was made by the photostat for Dr. J. C. Webster, of Shediac, N.B., not long ago when he found these documents and he gave the copy to the Archives. This was sent by Dr. Doughty, the Public Archivist, to the University of New Brunswick, where Sir Howard was the first chancellor, and in that province the Government authorized copies to be made and the study of the MS. encouraged.

It is the purpose of this paper, not to analyse, or study the letters in detail, but to give some idea of the work done in New Brunswick during his brief term of office, and to suggest what kind of man he was.

He was in London for some months before he could begin work in New Brunswick. The Sign Manual of his Commission as Lieutenant-Governor and Captain General was dated the 1st of April, 1823, but he did not take the oath and assume office until the 28th of August, 1824. None the less, he showed at once a vigour, foresight, and thoroughness as regards duties, both private and public, which are like those qualities which Spenser wished to embody in his Prince in the Faery Queen, as the two fold character of the magnanimous man, noble in both politic and private virtues. Such praise will not seem too high to anyone who has read the account of Sir Howard in the D.N.B., and may be seen clearly in these letters, despite the impersonal, self forgetting style.

In London his mind was already exercised about the Maine Boundary question, a matter then not settled, and full of possibilities. He studied the facts, as far as he could; formed an opinion subject to revision on the spot, and when sailing from Portsmouth for New Brunswick, he sent to Canning his "written observations on the Boundary, as agreed by the Treaty of Ghent." About the same time there are letters referring to the need for household accommodation upon his arrival; his anticipation of the "summer heats" (based perhaps upon his earlier acquaintance with Kingston); and other such matters. It is to him that Fredericton owed its first Government House, which was, however, burned not long after his arrival in the great fire; and to him also the University Arts Building is due, a solid stone two-storey building, finished in 1829. From what he did, or prepared to do in London, it is clear that he was not an opportunist, but rather than deal with things only as they arise, he carefully prepared himself before hand by acquainting himself with the subject of importance that he was at pains to discover, so as to be able to control matters in accordance with a definite plan. Wellington spoke of him, after a disagreement as to the means of taking Burgos, as being right and the Duke himself wrong. Sir Walter Scott also, after the work in New Brunswick was done, spoke in the highest terms of Sir Howard. The effect

of military experience and ability, not limited to one kind, was invaluable at a time when, in New Brunswick, which he himself called "this infant province," everything was in confusion and he seems to have been the only directing mind.

He left London on May 12, 1824, reached Halifax on July 28, and St. John, N.B., on September 3. A list of his party may be of interest.

"Major General Sir Howard Douglas and one A.D.C.

Lady Douglas.

Three Misses Douglas.

Two children (six and eight years of age).

One Governess.

Servants

One upper Nurse to be with the Children.

One Lady's Maid to be with the young ladies.

Three men servants."

He at once established co-operation with Admiral Lake, commanding the Fleet in North American waters. On September 3 he announced to the Home Government that he had "taken upon himself the Government of New Brunswick" and did so. He disposed at once, with firmness and courtesy, of job-hunters, and left the law to take its course in a case of appeal where there was no clear case for any exercise of prerogative, or clemency, or direction for new trial. He approved of the appointment of an Episcopal Minister, whose services were needed, without delay. He seems to have been more interested in the work than in himself. He sought the magnification of the office, not the man, requiring an official residence not so much to support his own dignity, as to counteract what he called "the levelling tendencies of our neighbours to the south." For the same reason he objected to the first steamboat on the river, owned by a company with a monopoly which provided no other accommodation for the Governor than a cabin which must be shared with negroes and what used to be called "the lower orders." He considered that the Government should provide separate accommodation, at least as regards the cabin, and that the monopoly was bad. He applied for a grant from the King's Casual Revenue for a steamboat for the use of the Governor and this was allowed.

He combined quick decision with promptness of action in a wide range of matters: e.g. education; savings banks (of which he seems to have been the originator in the Army); agricultural societies; the administration of and provision for the quick discharge of justice; various economic affairs; the reorganization of the militia; the building of lighthouses; and, to show that he was human and not above details, he also sought provision for the family of a public servant who had become lunatic.

He found things in confusion and called at once for accounts from the various departments; returns from the Customs, with authority for their charges, perquisites, and fees; stirred up the Naval Officer to fulfil his duties and cease to disregard his office as a sinecure in St. John, with immediate result; commented on the improper condition of the streets of St. John in terms which caused improvement but no lasting offence; took active interest in the Emigrant Society and the Madras Schools, providing such small but essential things as spades for emigrants, and objecting to the expenditure of money for general purposes by the Madras Schools

when it was earmarked for special purposes; and made an arrangement with the judges for regular courts and the increase of the judges meagre salaries; while he ordered accounts to be rendered to the Lords of the Treasury as a final means to ensure the economical discharge of the public services. He lamented the approaching extermination of the Indian and made proposals to hinder this, seeing that to let him become a town dweller was a mistake, and that more hope lay in giving him land where he could work, with encouragement for his industry. He objected strongly to a school where the children of natives were taken from their parents under cover of charity and a mistaken notion of religion and education, where they were confused with children of European descent, and put a stop to this practice. He advised reservations for the Indians of New Brunswick and an inspector, responsible to Government, who should supervise their activities and needs. He sent to King William for the Surveyor General for the Highlands of Scotland, as he found the geological formation of parts of New Brunswick similar, and himself supervised the planning of all the great trunk roads, as from Fredericton to St. John by the Nerepis valley—still the shortest and best road—from Fredericton to St. Andrews and St. Stephen, a road of military importance; and from Fredericton to Quebec. He found the roads of the early settlers no roads, running as tracks over the ridges and spurs in straight lines; he left roads where coaches could travel from Fredericton to St. John in the worst season of the year in twelve hours instead of from three to five days. The original plans of one of these roads are still in the office of Lands and Mines in Fredericton and seem to one who is not an engineer to be beautiful surveys of the line of road, without any attempt to map the surrounding country beyond a few yards. He established a regular line of Posts between all the principal points in the province along the north shore between Nova Scotia and Quebec, by co-operation with Nova Scotia. He found the Provincial College, or Academy, a Grammar School and left it a university with a Royal Charter, and a better building than is likely to be seen now, in a splendid situation, with forest lands from the Crown as an endowment, and above all fought the battle of toleration so that the advantages of an education within the province was not confined to those who would subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. In this he found much and strong opposition, both from the Bishop of Nova Scotia, who had other ideas, and from the archbishop and court at home; but by persistence and courage he finally obtained a wise compromise, so that only candidates for degrees in Divinity were required to subscribe—though the chancellor remained a minister of the Episcopal Church for some years—and this was a victory at that time, which ended in complete freedom afterwards. If he had insisted on this in his time, nothing would have been won.

These things, and others like them, show how wide his interests were, how active he was, and how thoroughly he acquainted himself with affairs. He wrote, for example, "I have taken time to look about me" (soon after his arrival, like a soldier making an "appreciation", or anticipation of what way things would go, after a survey of the ground); and, again, "I have read over all the minutes and have made myself thoroughly acquainted," &c. The words themselves, and the handwriting, though formal, do not imply the emptiness often associated with formality.

The chief matters of his term of office in New Brunswick were the boundary question, and the economic question of tariffs, and these matters

led to his return to England, to give evidence before the King of the Netherlands about the boundary, and to resign his office so that he might be free to fight the cause of New Brunswick in Parliament against the advantage given to Baltic timber.

The economic matters may be considered shortly before the other affair of the boundary is finally mentioned.

He objected in writing to the Home Government, and was finally successful in objecting to the prohibition against the importation of foreign sugars. He was not, as he told Sir Robert Peel on a later occasion, "for free trade but for fair trade." He wanted reciprocity and if the U.S. would not give this, there ought to be a tariff to protect an infant province. On the other hand, he thought that American sugars should be admitted, so that N.B. fish could be exchanged. If not, the Canadian fishermen would be deprived of their natural market, the West Indies would not really benefit, the American sugars would meet us in other markets, and smuggling would increase on the St. Croix, in both rum and sugar. He asked for a naval watch over this area. As regards some things, such as tea, he seems to have advocated the present policy of trying to keep trade within the Empire, where possible, making detailed inquiries about the supplies of tea and recommending the importation into St. John direct, and not through American ports, of Indian teas for N.B. use. In the matter of foreign sugars, and in obtaining the University Charter with some degree of toleration, the identification of Sir Howard can be seen with the real interests of the province as against the local interest of the Family Compact, or the Church of England, and the unwise and not well informed policy of the Home Government, making decisions far from the place. His object, he wrote, was to encourage the growth of the province as settled by British subjects to be independent of the U.S. and to counteract the natural tendency of dependence upon and immigration to the south. This is well seen in his action during the Miramichi Fire when he went, giving help and encouragement, all the way through the smouldering forest from Fredericton to Chatham with a team holding money and supplies. He saved many from emigrating to the States in sheer despair. The same helpfulness is seen in his plan for savings banks. He took advantage of some alterations which were to be made in the Acts of Parliament in England which covered savings banks, after studying the many systems of savings banks in Europe before he left, to represent to the government upon his arrival the great need there was for facilities to be given to the people of New Brunswick, so that they might invest their money in British Funds. In this way he desired the extension of savings bank facilities to the colony, to form an economic link with the Motherland as against the natural drift of savings to the U.S.A. His detailed suggestions followed the recommendation of this principle.

In these economic matters he showed a clear grasp of economic principle with a businesslike application to actual needs, certainly no doctrinaire interference on abstract grounds. He found time to take an interest in scientific things too, writing to his friend Sir Humphrey Davy about the possibilities of minerals at the head of the Bay of Fundy and sending him two bottles of water and some salt for analysis and his opinion. Once he was in New Brunswick, he took care to study the boundary question on the spot and was confirmed in his opinion that the United States Commissioners based their claim, during negotiations after the Treaty of Ghent, to a large area of territory, upon grossly inaccurate surveys. Satis-

fied of this by careful examination, he now pressed the observations which he had already made to Canning when he was leaving England, and maintained that we should not give up 10,000 square miles of rich territory in Madawaska for a mere "point d'appui," Rouse's point, a place established by the United States to be on the map where it was not on the ground. Their claim involved the New Brunswick settlement of Madawaska, which they alleged to be in the State of Maine. He wrote fully to Mr. Addington, British Chargé d'affaires at Washington, April 26, 1825, showing that acts of sovereignty had long been exercised in more than one kind over those tracts of territory now claimed by the United States Commissioners appointed to adjust the boundary line. He maintained that they advanced very "exaggerated pretensions and interpretations of the second article of the Treaty of 1783, referred to in the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent." He showed that neither our Commissioners nor our Government had conceded these claims. He intended to act in accordance with the views of the Home Government as expressed to his predecessors, and found that the American claims in this area were defined by Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as encroachments. He thought that the only way out of the increasing difficulties was to come at once to an amicable settlement, upon those terms of "reciprocity, mutual convenience, and concord," originally pledged by the Treaty of 1783, "so as to give each claimant a share of the course and benefit of the rivers which have their sources in, run through, and empty themselves into the sea within the territories of the respective claimants." On April 29, 1828, he writes to Lord Bathurst: "Your Lordship will perceive.....that.....with an increased sense of the immense value and importance to the British Government, of the territory in question, I do not consider myself at liberty to surrender any of the rights of possession which we have long held in that territory; but I will exercise it with great *discretion*."

This statement embodies the substance of a long correspondence and is in itself an epitome of what Sir Howard both thought and did. By refusing to do anything himself and referring everything to His Majesty's Government with reiterated emphasis of the importance of standing fast, he maintained our position and avoided a quarrel which the State of Maine was only too anxious to provoke. He pointed out that Maine was claiming to adjudicate the disputed territory as if it were a sovereign state. Now part of the disputed territory lay in Vermont, part in what was claimed as Maine. The importance of this claim, in Sir Howard's view, lay in the fact that, should the Americans gain this territory which they claimed on the Upper Saint John River, "they would apply with double force, with respect to the navigation of that river, the principle upon which they have already claimed right to the navigation of the Saint Lawrence." This claim to control the waterways, the State of Maine openly avowed, he said. But Sir Howard foresaw a far more embarrassing claim, the navigation of the St. John to its mouth. He referred again to the principles and spirit of the Treaty of 1783. He referred to the circumstances at the time of that treaty and sought guidance in its spirit where the letter might be obscure. He pointed out that the Americans were then satisfied with their independence and were contracting at Paris for a boundary to mark, when it should be settled, the territory of the United States, without notion of aggrandisement. Maine did not then exist. The line was not pretended to be laid down topographically, as the interior was then utterly unknown. The country now under litigation was then settled under grant from the

Crown before the American constitution was adopted. It could not be supposed that "in 1783 our negotiations could have contemplated the surrender to the State of Massachusetts of a wilderness territory extending towards our province so far from their own settlements and obtruding into the very heart of what is now New Brunswick." The claim of Maine, he urged, was recent and actuated by a desire to aggrandise itself. He referred to Lord Dorchester and his procuring of the erection of what is now New Brunswick into a separate province, and to his brother, Governor Carleton, of New Brunswick. Both of these knew well the real principle and spirit in which the line of demarcation was intended to apply. Sir Howard was anxious that the Home Government should be well informed and not sacrifice so important a section, full of so much valuable and untouched forest land.

Some New Brunswick men from the Upper St. John made an incursion into the disputed territory and began to cut timber. He had them arrested. The State of Maine would have been outraged had they been allowed to stay, but itself sent Land Agents who offered to sell sections of the disputed area to British subjects and tried, in vain, to dissuade men from their annual militia training. Sir Howard therefore pointed out to Lord Bathurst that while Maine required us not to prejudice the disputed territory in any way, they deliberately sold timber licenses. He feared disorders if such depredations on British territory were allowed to continue.

The result of his remonstrances to Washington was that the Federal Government directed Massachusetts and Maine to suspend the measures complained of. The last letters in this MS. show that he encouraged an address of both Houses in Fredericton to His Majesty, stating the case correctly and demanding preventive measures in temperate and dignified terms. He himself wished to avoid collision, and a speedy end to the dispute.

No more of this important and interesting affair can be studied in the New Brunswick Civil Letter Book, 1824-1826, as it ends at this point. But further study in the Public Archives and enquiry into the Boundary Papers there, amply justify Fullom's description in his "Life of Sir Howard", of the successful way in which he avoided this collision which he feared, and Maine did its utmost to provoke. After this order from the Federal Government to Maine to desist, that state sent a man called Baker, who "burst into a British Government settlement and hoisted the American flag in token of sovereignty". This was done deliberately at a time when feeling on both sides was high. The Governor of Maine also called out the Militia and marched it to the Frontier, hoping that Sir Howard would do likewise. "He made no allowance," says Fullom, "for American magnificence" and fell into no such trap. He sent a constable who knocked down the flagstaff and took Baker into custody, taking him off in a wagon before the crowd understood. Thus there was no disturbance in N.B., while the Maine Militia marched up and down the Frontier spoiling for a fight. Its Governor sent an envoy to Sir Howard demanding the instant release of Baker, but the envoy was not officially received, though he was hospitably entertained. Sir Howard wisely and calmly maintained that he was unable to enter into the subject at debate, as no communication between the two Governments was authorized except through the British Minister at Washington and the Central Authorities.

This firm refusal to allow the Province and Government to become embroiled in a quarrel which might have led to war, was highly approved. Among others, the Governor General, the Earl of Dalhousie, wrote and said: "Nothing more firm, polite, and proper, could have been done in these delicate and very important matters". Sir Howard yielded to no representations from Maine; "he persevered in the prosecution of Baker, who was tried before the Chief Justice, found guilty, sentenced to be fined, and the fine paid". The end of the matter, and the result of Sir Howard's attitude was that public attention was drawn to the matter; the Government at home could not let the affair go unheeded any more, and the question of the Boundary was submitted to arbitration. "Sir Howard was called to assist in Europe in preparing the British case before the King of the Netherlands".

He never returned because, while he was in England, the other question of timber duties came up before Parliament and Sir Howard, who regarded himself as a trustee for the interests of the Province, wished to be free to urge the need for a British Preference for Colonial, and particularly for New Brunswick lumber against what he thought to be the foolish advantages afforded to lumber from the Baltic States. He presented a memorial to Sir Robert Peel on this matter and his resignation at the same time. In the end, he won here also.

There are many other things which he did in N.B. mentioned in these Letters, of which these may be enough to show that he was a man remarkable in more than one respect. He had foresight and political wisdom of an unusual kind, with a vigour and courage in the prosecution of what he considered his duty which could not be exceeded. He was not always right, for he prophesied the disruption of the United States, and withstood the introduction of iron warships, but when he foretold that as fast as armour plate could be increased, so fast would guns be invented that would penetrate that armour, he looked ahead as far as the War and the loss of the 'Lion.' He looked forward, even in 1825, to Confederation, but in a letter to Lord Sidmouth he commented on the inadvisability of any haste and argued against the premature Legislative Union of the Provinces until the ground should have been well prepared. It seems, in his great Treatise on Military Bridge Building, that the idea of the Suspension Bridge was his own, given to Telford, with whom he corresponded. He was always applying his knowledge of mathematics to practical ends. He proposed while he was in N.B. the Baie Verte Canal, to promote coastwise trade and trade with the interior of the Province and N.S. and had three surveys made, writing to Telford to send him a good Engineer. He wondered whether a canal or a railway would be better. At Grand Falls he wanted a tunnel built to save timber from injury and he wished to introduce the Bramah hydraulic machine into the Province for hauling heavy logs. If hydro had been heard of at that time, no doubt he would have considered its application to an 'infant province' with due economy. In providing for the possession of the River Saint John as a permanently British River, so far as he could, he may be said to have made this new development of hydro possible. He wanted the channel of the River improved, if possible, at the Reversing Falls to deepen it for shipping, and if this had been, or could have been done, there might have been no question before the Privy Council about the height of the Bridge at this point. He wrote about the iron and coal in the province, and caused Lighthouses to be built on St. Paul's

Island in the Gulf; at a point off the Island of Grand Manan, and elsewhere, remembering his early experience of shipwrecks on these coasts.

There does not seem to be any need for wonder at the high opinions of him which were held by Sir Walter Scott, who had the same nurse as Sir Howard, and by Wellington. Throughout his life, whether in the Peninsula during the War, in command of the training School for Officers at High Wycombe which he planned and of which he was the first Commandant, or later as Lt. Governor of New Brunswick, and finally High Commissioner for the Ionian Islands, he seems to have been working throughout with the ideal of public service always before him, and to this end he consecrated all his many and various gifts, leaving behind him wherever he went, not least in New Brunswick, a work that has not perished.

LES TROUPES DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE *

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

I

LA MILICE

Dans l'histoire de cette Nouvelle-France, qui ne cessa pratiquement pas de guerroyer, de sa fondation à sa conquête, les troupes—miliciens et soldats—tiennent un rôle d'une extrême importance. Sans elles, on ne s'explique ni la résistance indéfectible de la colonie en face de l'Iroquois, ni les bonds gigantesques des explorateurs, ni la magnifique défense devant l'invasion anglaise. Omettant les éléments passagers,—soldats des compagnies de commerce et régiment de Carignan au début, et bataillons de terre à la fin du régime,—cette force militaire de la colonie se composait de deux corps: la milice et les troupes de la Marine.

La milice naquit de la nécessité. Presque dès leur établissement au pays, qui date, en fait, de 1635, les colons durent faire le coup de feu contre les Iroquois. Il fallut donc s'organiser. Les postes les plus avancés s'empressèrent d'adopter un système de défense. Ainsi, en 1651, s'ébauche à Trois-Rivières, la première formation militaire méthodique, quand Boucher, "capitaine du bourg", divise les habitants en escouades et leur fait faire l'exercice.¹ En 1663, Maisonneuve, à Montréal, établit une "milice de la Sainte-Vierge", avec cette singularité remarquable que chaque escouade fait l'élection de son commandant.²

C'était là des essais régionaux. 1669 marque la date de l'organisation officielle de la milice canadienne. Elle ne fut pas, comme l'affirme M. Benjamin Sulte, une "invention" de Frontenac. Elle doit sa création à Louis XIV. Dans une lettre à M. de Courcelles, il lui enjoignit de diviser les habitants du pays en compagnies sous les ordres de capitaines, de lieutenants et d'enseignes, de les réunir une fois par mois, par escouades ou par compagnie, pour leur faire exécuter les exercices voulus. Les compagnies au complet devaient s'assembler une ou deux fois par an. Les miliciens devaient toujours être munis de plomb, de poudre et de mèche. Enfin, le gouverneur

* Hormis d'indication autre, toutes les références se rapportent aux collections des Archives canadiennes, à Ottawa.

(1) Voir Appendice, p. 44.

(2) Voir Appendice, p. 44.

devait faire la visite des milices et leur faire exécuter l'exercice en sa présence.³ Ces instructions ne restèrent pas lettre morte: de Courcelles distribuait les habitants en compagnies et s'appliqua jusqu'à son départ à les préparer au rôle de soldats toujours prêts à marcher à l'ennemi. A partir de ce moment, c'est une obligation du gouverneur, dûment inscrite dans ses instructions, de veiller à l'armement et à l'aguerrissement des habitants de la Nouvelle-France.

Voilà comment se forma la milice. Quant à sa composition, tout citoyen, "habitant, domestique ou ouvrier" devait faire le service militaire. Seuls en étaient exemptés les officiers pourvus de commissions, de brevets ou de lettres de service du roi, ce qui veut dire les officiers d'épée, de justice et d'administration, liste à laquelle doivent s'ajouter les huissiers audienciers du Conseil supérieur et des juridictions.⁴ Le milicien devait le service, non pas comme l'affirme Munro, en sa qualité de censitaire féodal, mais nous dit Talon, en sa qualité de sujet du roi.⁵

Le service était obligatoire depuis 16 jusqu'à 60 ans,⁶ et le milicien devait s'armer lui-même, c'est-à-dire posséder son fusil. A ceux qui en manquaient, l'intendant devait en fournir, en prenant des mesures pour les faire payer ou rentrer, après la campagne, dans les magasins du roi.⁷ Enfin, les miliciens, y compris les officiers, servaient gratuitement, sans toucher aucune solde. Mais dès le début, on leur distribuait parfois certaines parties de l'équipement.

L'organisation de la milice était fort simple. Au sommet, le gouverneur général qui avait le commandement supérieur de toutes les milices du pays. A la tête des milices de chacun des trois gouvernements, un colonel assisté de majors et d'aides-majors. Quant aux miliciens, ils étaient simplement groupés en compagnie par paroisse, unité administrative de l'époque, dont chacune, selon le chiffre de sa population, comptait une ou plusieurs compagnies. Dans les villes, les citoyens étaient formés en compagnies de quartier, portant le nom des capitaines. Les compagnies n'avaient pas d'effectif fixe. Selon cet effectif, elles pouvaient avoir un ou plusieurs capitaines, lieutenants, enseignes et sergents. Ces officiers et bas officiers de milice n'avaient aucun rang avec les troupes régulières. Ils étaient même commandés par les sergents, les caporaux et les cadets des troupes de la Marine. C'est que les officiers de milice, depuis le colonel jusqu'à l'enseigne, recevaient leurs commissions, non du roi, mais du gouverneur. Ces commissions étaient rédigées, en son nom, sous sa signature et sceau, en vertu du pouvoir à lui conféré par le roi.

Enfin, il faut ajouter que les miliciens n'avaient pas d'uniforme, mais ils recevaient à chaque campagne, du moins, à la fin du régime, partie de l'habillement, chemise, capot, brayet, mitasses, mocassins et une couverture. Les officiers portaient, avec l'épée, le hausse-col, croissant de cuivre doré, qui se fixait sur la poitrine, à la base du cou. Il constituait l'insigne de leur autorité.

(³) Voir Appendice, p. 45.

(⁴) Ar. Col. F³, vol. 11. Mémoire du Roy aux S^{rs} M^{rs} de Beauharnois et Hocquart, 19 avril 1729, p. 323.

(⁵) Roy, Ordonnances, Commissions, etc., des Gouverneurs et Intendants de la Nouvelle France. Vol. 1, Talon. Sur la distribution des terres du Canada et des concessions faites et à faire avec leurs clauses, pp. 61-62.

(⁶) Malartic, Journal des campagnes au Canada, 1890, p. 38.

(⁷) Roy, Ordonnances, Commissions, etc., vol. 1. Ordonnance de M. de Meules, 10 octobre 1684, p. 80 et suiv.

Il faut signaler ici les fonctions extra-militaires des capitaines de milice. Faute de tout système municipal, et de l'absence, dans la plupart des seigneuries, d'institution judiciaire, ils remplirent, de bonne heure, un rôle fort important. Seuls représentants du gouverneur, ils étaient chargés de commander leurs concitoyens, non seulement pour fins militaires, mais dans toutes les occasions où il s'agissait du service du roi, tels que travaux publics, transport des troupes, fournitures de vivres et de matériaux, transmission de dépêches, publication des ordonnances, etc.

Leur utilité ne se limitait pas au seul service du gouverneur. Avec l'autorisation de ce dernier, de qui ils relevaient, ils devinrent également les indispensables agents de l'intendant. Là surtout où n'existait aucun tribunal, ils signifiaient aux particuliers les jugements et publiaient les ordonnances de l'intendant et devaient tenir la main à leur exécution. Ils étaient les délégués du grand voyer. Ils agissaient, selon les circonstances, comme syndic, comme notaire et comme juge. Ils étaient les très utiles Maître Jacques du régime français. Aussi jouissaient-ils d'une considération générale dans la colonie et, de plus, de certains droits et honneurs dans les cérémonies publiques. Ils les méritaient grandement par les précieux services qu'ils rendaient, sans rémunération, au roi et à la colonie.

II

LES TROUPES DE LA MARINE

Au début de son existence, la colonie laurentienne se trouva sous le régime des compagnies marchandes. Plus occupées de commerce que de colonisation, de profits que de progrès, ces sociétés, qui réduisent au minimum les dépenses de l'administration, ne maintiennent dans le pays que les garnisons strictement nécessaires. Les troupes qui les composent sont des soldats de fortune, aventuriers enrôlés par les compagnies. En dépit de la menace iroquoise qui déjà s'annonce, le pays, en 1647, ne compte qu'environ 100 hommes, distribués dans les trois places de Québec, Trois-Rivières et Montréal.¹ Même cet effectif se voit réduit à 68 soldats l'année suivante.² Cette faiblesse rend les Iroquois audacieux: leurs incursions redoublent en nombre et en importance. Aux garnisons impuissantes, les colons qui s'arment et battent la campagne ne peuvent apporter un secours suffisant. L'héroïsme accidentel de Dollard et de ses compagnons endigne momentanément le flot, mais la marée iroquoise recommence, chaque année, à battre les murs de nos trois postes. Devant la débâcle imminente, intervient Louis XIV, poussé par Colbert. Il réunit la colonie au domaine royal.

Aux soldats levés par la compagnie, succèdent bientôt les soldats du roi. En 1665, le régiment de Carignan, fort de vingt compagnies, débarque à Québec avec quatre compagnies, tirées des régiments de Chambellé, d'Orléans, de Poitou et de l'Allier. Ces soldats appartiennent aux troupes régulières, aux troupes de terre et relèvent du ministère de la Guerre. Ils resteront au pays jusqu'en 1668.

Sur la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, devenue propriétaire de la colonie, retombe maintenant l'obligation de défendre le pays. Comme la compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, elle entretient au pays quelques détachements de soldats recrutés en France ou en Canada, mais ces garnisons n'égalent même pas, au dire de Frontenac, celles que le roi laisse dans la plus

(¹) Correspond. officielle, 2e série, vol. 1., Règlement pour établir le bon ordre et la police en Canada, 27 mars 1647, p. 153.

(²) Ibid. Arrêt portant règlement en faveur des habitants de la Nouvelle-France, 5 mars 1648, p. 167.

(³) Arc. Col. C¹¹ A, vol. 3. Frontenac au ministre, 2 novembre, 1672, pp. 344-5.

petite place conquise sur les Hollandais.³ D'ailleurs, Louis XIV ne juge pas nécessaire l'envoi de troupes de France. Que le gouverneur forme les milices en compagnies, les dressent aux exercices et les tiennent prêtes à servir quand le besoin l'exigera.

Vainqueurs des tribus de l'Ouest, alliées des Français, encouragés par la faiblesse des garnisons canadiennes, les Iroquois rôdent autour de la colonie, à l'affût de la circonstance favorable. Devant les réclamations pressantes de de la Barre, qui demande des compagnies de la Marine, comme celles qui sont à Cayenne et aux Isles, Louis XIV lui envoie 150 hommes, soit trois compagnies de la Marine.⁴ Voilà, semble-t-il, le premier envoi, officiellement constaté, de ces troupes de la Marine qui devaient, jusqu'à la fin du régime français, assumer la tâche de défendre la colonie contre l'Indien et l'Anglais en temps de guerre, et servir, en temps de paix, à faciliter le commerce des postes, tout en poussant toujours plus loin la frontière de la colonie canadienne.

A cette époque, le roi était, depuis quelques années, sur la recommandation de Colbert, dans l'habitude de maintenir un certain nombre de troupes dans les ports, dans le but de les faire servir au cours des expéditions maritimes. Ces troupes, totalement indépendantes du ministère de la Guerre, "soldats ordinairement entretenus dans les ports", commandés par des officiers de marine, relevaient uniquement et directement du ministère de la Marine. Quand leurs effectifs ne suffisaient à fournir les détachements réclamés par les circonstances, les intendants des ports de mer procédaient par divers intermédiaires à la levée du nombre requis, ce qui se fit pour le premier contingent.⁵ Le recrutement, "l'entretien" et la solde étaient défrayés par le trésorier de la Marine.⁶ C'est de cette même source que, commençant avec 1683, sortent tous les contingents qui passent, se suivant de près, de France en Canada. Le roi leur donnait indifféremment le nom de "détachement de soldats de la Marine", ou de "détachement des soldats de ses vaisseaux." En 1688, ces troupes atteignent dans la colonie, le chiffre de 35 compagnies de 50 hommes.⁷

En 1690, les compagnies de "soldats entretenus dans les ports", en petit nombre, mais accrues par des levées selon les besoins, ne suffisaient plus aux tâches qui leur étaient assignées de garder les ports, d'accompagner les expéditions maritimes et de défendre les colonies. Seignelay décida de réformer cette organisation, en la remplaçant par une institution permanente, avec des effectifs réguliers et considérables. Ce projet, ce fut son successeur, Pontchartrain, qui le réalisa. Le 16 décembre 1690, le roi signa l'ordonnance qui créait le nouveau corps sous le nom de *compagnies franches de la Marine*. Il se composait de 80 compagnies de 100 hommes, distribuées dans les différents ports de la France. Chaque compagnie se rangeait sous le commandement d'un lieutenant de vaisseau, pourvu d'une commission de capitaine d'infanterie. Sous lui, servaient deux enseignes de Marine, le premier avec le titre de lieutenant, l'autre avec le titre d'enseigne d'infanterie.⁸

Les troupes de la Marine en Canada furent rattachées à la nouvelle organisation, dont la discipline interne fut établie par un règlement du 15 octobre 1691. Mais ce règlement parut bientôt insuffisant quant aux compagnies entretenues en Canada et le roi dressa, le 30 mai 1695, à leur égard,

(4) Arc. Col. C¹¹A. vol. 6-1. Le roi à M. de la Barre, 10 avril 1684, p. 407. La Hontan, Voyages, 2 ed. 1705, p. 2.

(5) Arc. Col. B-10. Lettre du Roy à M. de la Barre, 5 août 1683, p. 5.

(6) Arc. Col. B-11. Lettre du Roy à M. de la Barre, 31 juillet 1683, p. 404.

(7) Arc. Col. B-15. A M. de Denonville, 8 mars 1688, p. 82.

(8) Voir Appendice, p. 49.

une ordonnance particulière qui règle " la Conduite, Police et Discipline des compagnies que Sa Majesté entretient dans le Canada." ⁹

A partir de cette date, l'histoire administrative des troupes de Marine dans la colonie se déroule sans autre incident que des changements dans le chiffre des effectifs. En 1733, on trouve 800 hommes, distribués en 28 compagnies. En 1750, les effectifs montent à 1,500 hommes, comprenant 30 compagnies de 50 soldats.¹⁰ La même année, on leur adjoint une compagnie de 50 canonniers.¹¹ En 1756, l'effectif des 30 compagnies est porté à 65 hommes.¹² Enfin en 1757, le nombre des compagnies est fixé à 40,¹³ et le roi établit deux compagnies de canonniers fortes de 50 hommes chacune. Ainsi à la fin du régime les troupes de Marine en Canada, comptent 2,600 soldats et 100 canonniers.

I

DOCUMENTS RELATIFS À LA MILICE

Ordre de M. D'Ailleboust à Pierre Boucher, Capitaine dans le Bourg des Trois-Rivières, 6 juin 1651 (Annuaire de Ville-Marie, 3e livraison, p. 373-4)

Il fera faire exercice le plus souvent qu'il pourra soit pour tirer au blanc ou autrement et aura soing de faire qu'un chacun tienne ses armes en bon estat et bien chargées de postes ou de balles.

Il fera pour cet effet quelques fois visites par les maisons afin d'empescher que personne ne se deffasse de ses armes sans congés exprès du gouverneur.

Il excitera souvent ceux qui vont au travail de se tenir sur leurs gardes; surtout aura l'œil que leurs armes soient bien chargées et non pour tirer sur des couvertures qu'il leur deffendra de ma part.

La palissade et les deux redouttes aschevées il divisera le bourd en trois escouades ou quatre s'il y a assez d'hommes dont une entrera tous les soirs en garde dans la redoutte qui regarde les champs; dans un corps de garde il y aura toujours une personne qui veillera et celui qui debvrait estre en sentinelle fera ronde tout autour du dedans de la palissade et aura loreille souvent au guet pour ne se point laisser surprendre du dehors par l'ennemy ny du feu qui se peut mettre par accident en quelque maison.

Il fera son possible pour presser la palissade et fera memoires des journées qui seront données par qui à quoy et combien.

S'il arrivait quelques refractaires au commandement ou qui manquasse aux gardes il le condamnera à lamande telle qu'il jugera à propos ou s'il arrivait quelque refus dobéir il en fera son rapport au gouverneur pour en faire le chastiment, faict et expédié au fort des Trois-Rivières ce six de juin mil six cent cinq^{te}. et un.

D'AILLEBOUST

PAR MONSIEUR LE GOUVERNEUR

Ordonnance créant la milice de la Ste. Vierge, 27 janvier 1663 (Collection judiciaire de Montréal)

Paul de Chomedey, gouverneur de L'isle de Montréal en la nouvelle france & Terres qui en despendent.

Sur Les Advis qui Nous ont esté donnez de divers Endroits, que les hyroquois avoient Formé dessein d'enlever de surprise, ou de force Cette habitation, Et le secours de sa Majesté N'estant point Encore Arrivé, Attendu que Cette Isle Appartient à la Sainte Vierge Nous avons creu devoir Inviter et Exorter ceux qui sont zélés pour son service, de S'Unir Ensemble par Escouades de sept personnes chacune, et après avoir Esleu un Caporal à la pluralité des Voix, Nous Venir trouver pour estre Enrolléz et mis au Nombre de notre garnison, et en cette qualité Suivre nos Ordres pour la conservation & bon Reiglement de cette habitation, promettant de Notre part, de faire en Sorte qu'outre les dangers qui Se pourroient Rencontrer dans les occasions Militaires.

(⁹) Voir Appendice, p. 51.

(¹⁰) Voir Appendice, p. 56.

(¹¹) Voir Appendice, p. 56.

(¹²) Voir Appendice, p. 58.

(¹³) Voir Appendice, p. 58.

les Interests particuliers n'en seront point endommagéz. Et de plus Nous promettons à tous Ceux qui se Feront Enroller pour les fins sus dites de les Oster du Roolle toutes fois & quantes qu'elles nous en Requerront, Ordonnant Au sieur dupuis Major de Faire Insinuer le présent Ordre au greffe de Ce lieu Ensemble les noms de Ceux lesquels se feront Enroller en Conséquence d'Iceuy, pour leur Servir de Marque d'honneur, Comme Ayans Exposé leurs Vies pour les Intérêts de notre Dame & le salut public, Fait à Villemarie, Le Vingt Sept Janvier m v j C Soixante et trois.

PAUL DE CHOMEDY

Le Vingt huitiesme Jour des dits mois et an que dessus, par commandement de mons^r Le gouverneur, le présent ordre a esté Leu, publié et affiché en la manière acoustumée, à l'Issue de la grande messe ditte en l'église de l'hospital St. Joseph du dit lieu par moy comis au greffe sousigné Et Ensuite Insinué au dit greffe par le sieur Zacharie depuis Escuyer Major de la ditte Isle pour y avoir recours quand besoin sera & à ce que personne n'en Ignore et a signé.¹

Lettre du Roi à Monsieur de Courselles pour lui ordonner de diviser les habitans du Canada par compagnies pour leur faire faire l'exercice du maniement des armes.
(Archives des Colonies, C^uA Vol. 3, pp.3-5.)

A PARIS le 3 avril 1669.

Monsieur de Courselles, vous verrés par l'arrêt de mon conseil qui sera présenté par mon procureur général au conseil souverain de la Nouvelle France mes intentions sur ce que j'ai estimé nécessaire de faire pour favoriser les mariages et gratifier ceux de mes sujets habitans au dit pais qui auront le nombre de dix a douze enfans; et comme pour maintenir les dits pays il est non seulement nécessaire de penser à le bien peupler, mais meme à rendre les dits habitans experts au maniement des armes et la discipline Militaire, je vous écris ces lignes pour vous dire que nos intention est que vous divisiés tous mes sujets habitans au dit pais par compagnies, ayant égard a leur proximité, qu'après les avoir ainsi diviser vous établissiés des capitaines, Lieutenants et enseignes pour les commander, qu'en cas que ceux qui composeront les dits compagnies puissent s'assemblée avec facilité et s'en retourner chez eux en un jour, vous donner les ordres qu'ils s'assemblent une fois chaque mois pour faire l'exercice du maniement des armes, et en cas qu'ils soient trop éloignés vous subdivisiés les compagnies par escouades de 40 a 50 hommes, et que vous leur fassiés faire l'exercice une fois le mois, ainsi qu'ils est dit cy-dessus, et à l'égard des compagnies entières vous les fassiés assembler une fois ou deux l'année.

Que vous preniés soin qu'il soient tous bien armés et qu'ils ayent toujours la poudre, plomb et mèche nécessaires pour pouvoir se servir de leurs armes dans les occasions.

Que vous visitiés souvent les escouades et compagnies, et leur fassiez faire l'exercice en votre présence.

Qu'autant qu'il sera possible vous puissiés assembler une fois l'année le plus grand nombre des dits habitans qui se pourra pour leur faire faire pareillement l'exercice en corps en observant toutes fois de ne pas leur faire faire de trop grandes marches, laissant à votre prudence d'assembler seulement tous ceux qui pourront le faire et s'en retourner en deux jours de tems, afin qu'un plus grand tems ne consomme celui qu'ils doivent employer à leur commerce et à la culture de leurs terres. Je laisse encore à votre prudence à examiner s'il ne serait pas avantageux au bien de mon service, et à l'augmentation de la colonie d'assembler tous les deux ou trois ans un nombre de douze cents hommes de guerre bien armés et faire une marche dans le pays des Iroquois et autres nations sauvages pour leur faire toujours connaître la puissance de nos armes et les contenir dans les termes du devoir et de l'obeissance qu'ils me doivent.

Au surplus, je désire que vous redoubliés vos soins et votre application pour l'augmentation de la colonie, pour cet effet que vous visitiés souvent tous les habitans, vous vous informiés de leurs besoins, les excitiés au travail et à la culture de la terre, les portiés au commerce par mer et particulièrement à celui qui se peut faire avec les Isles de l'Amérique qui sont sous mon obéissance, et m'assurant que vous me donnerés en cela des marques de votre zèle pour le bien de mon service, je ne vous ferai la présente plus longue, Priant Dieu qu'il vous ait M^r de Courcelles en sa Sainte garde. Ecrit à Paris le 3^e avril 1669.

(Signé) LOUIS
et plus bas. COLBERT

(1) Dès le premier février, vingt escouades de sept hommes étaient dûment organisées en vertu de cette ordonnance.

Ordonnance de Monseigr. le Général au Sujet des Armes. 24 octobre 1682. (Collection judiciaire de Montréal)

Le Sieur Lefebvre de la Barre Seigneur du dit lieu, Conseiller du Roy en Ses conseils, Gouverneur et Son Lieutenant général de toutes les terres de la Nouvelle France et Accadie.

Le Roy, désirant pour des raisons importantes à Son Service, et pour le maintien et augmentation de cette Colonie, que tous les habitans de ce pays valides et capables de porter les armes en Soient Suffisamment pourvus, Nous ordonnons à tous les habitans de ce gouvernement qui ne Se trouvent pas fournis de fusils et armes à feu dans leurs habitations pour tous cause qui y Sont capables de porter les Armes ayent à S'en munir dans cet hyver à peine d'amande au printemps S'ils S'en trouvent manquer. Et afin de leur donner moyen d'en pouvoir acheter Nous ordonnons au Sieur Aubert de la Chesnaye marchand de Quebec de leur en vendre et prendre en payement du bled bon loyal et marchand a raison de cinquante Sold le Minot au moins Et en chairs de cochon Salée au prix ordinaire; Et au Sieu Le Bert marchand de Montreal de faire la mesme chose fait a Quebec ce Vingt quatre Octobre 1682.

LEFEBVRE DE LA BARRE

Par mon dit Seigneur

REGNAULT

Ordonnance au sujet des capitaines de milice, 25 juin 1710. (Ordonnances des Intendants Vol. III, pp. 384-385.)

Ayant esté informé du peu de consideration que l'on a dans les costes pour les capitaines de milices auxquels on ne donnent nulle distinction quoy qu'ils en méritent bien, et par l'honneur qu'ils ont de commander les habitans pour aller en guerre et pour toutes les autres choses pour lesquelles ils sont commandé et ainsy pour l'exécution de nos ordonnances que nous sommes quasy toujours obligez de leur adresser, ce qui leurs cause souvent de la depense et leur fait perdre beaucoup de temps qu'ils employeroient utilement pour eux cela nous aurait engagé il y a trois ans à supplier très humblemt, sa Maté de leurs accorder quelques petits appointemens avec un caractere qui leur donna quelques distinctions parmy les habitans et comme sa Maté n'a rien encore réglé à ce sujet, et croyant cependant qu'il est raisonnable de leur donner une distinction au dessus des autres habitans laquelle leur est due de droit puis qu'ils les commandent.

Nous sous le bon plaisir de Sa Maté ordonnons que les capitaines des costes iront les premiers à la procession après les Marguilliers suivis des autres officiers de Milice, et que le Capitaine de la coste seul aura le pain bénit avant les autres habitans, enjoignons aux dits Marguilliers de tenir la main à l'exécution de la présente ordonnance et enjoindre au Bedeau de luy portez à peine de dix livres d'amandes Contre les dits Marguilliers et sera la présente ordonnance, lue et publiée à la porte de toutes les paroisses de ce pays à ce que personne n'en ignore. Mandons &c. fait à Québec le 25 juin 1710.

RAUDOT.

Commission de lieutenant de milice à Pierre Guy. 15 juin 1731. (Collection Baby)

Charles Marquis de Beauharnois

Chevalier de L'ordre militaire de St. Louis

Gouverneur et Lieutenant Général pour Le Roy
en toute la nouvelle france.

Etant nécessaire pour le bien du service Du Roy, de pourvoir a L'Employ de Lieutenant de milice d'une des compagnies de cette ville, vacant par La mort du Sieur Chauvin et Etant bien informé de la sage conduite expérience et capacité du Sieur Guy négociant en cette ville et de son zele et affection au Service du Roy.

Nous en vertu du pouvoir a nous donné par sa majesté, avons nommé, Etably et par ces presentes nommons et établissons, Le dit Sieur Guy Lieutenant de milice dans La Compagnie du Sieur Blondeau, pour en faire les fonctions.

Enjoignons aux habitans qui composent la ditte Compagnie, de luy obeir et entendre en tout ce qui leur commandera pour Le service du Roy sous peine de desobeissance.

Mandons au Sieur Radisson Colonel des milices du Gouvernement de cette ditte ville, de faire recevoir et reconnoistre Le dit Sieur Guy en la ditte qualité de Lieutenant de milice de la ditte Compagnie de Blondeau, de tous et ainsy quil appartiendra En foy de quoy nous avons signé ces présentes, a-icelles fait opposer Le Sceau de nos armes et contresigner par l'un de nos secrétaires fait à Montréal Ce quinze juin 1731.

BEAUHARNOIS

Par monseigneur

DE CHEVREMONT.

Commission de Capitaine (en second) de Milice pour le Sr Pierre Guy, Le 1^{er} Aoust 1738. (Collection Baby)

Charles M^{is} de Beauharnois Commandeur de l'ordre Militaire de St. Louis, Gouverneur Et Lieutenant Général pour le Roy En toute la Nouvelle France Terres Et Pays de la Louisianne.

Etant nécessaire pour le bien du service du Roy Et pour faciliter L'Exécution de nos ordres, de pouvoir a L'Employ de Capitaine en second de la Compagnie de Milice Commandée par les Ignace Gamelin, vacant par la mort du s^r Baby qui en Etoit pourvû Et Etant bien Informé de la sage conduite, Experience Et Capacité du s^r Guy Cy devant Lieutenant dans Les d^s Milices et de son zèle, affection et fidelité au service du Roy.

Nous En vertu du pouvoir a nous donné par Sa Majesté Avons crée, Nommé et Etably, et par ces présentes, Créons, Nommons et Etablissons le d^s s^r Guy, Capitaine en second de la d^e Compagnie, pour en faire les fonctions en la dite qualité au lieu et place du d. feu s^r Baby. La Commander en l'Absence du dit s^r Gamelin Capitaine, et Executer tous les ordres qui luy seront par nous adressés.

Enjoignons aux habitants qui composent le d^e. Compagnie, de luy obeir et entendre tout ce quil leur commandera pour le service du Roy, sous peine de désobeissance.

Mandons au s^r. Neveu, Colonel des Milices du Gouvernement de Montreal, de faire recevoir et reconnoitre le d. Sr. Guy en la d^e. qualité de Capitaine en second de la Compagnie de Milice commandée par les sr. Ignace Gamelin de tous ceux et Ainsi qu'il Appartiendra' en foy de quoy nous avons signé ces présentes, a icelles fait opposer le sceau de nos armes et contresigner par l'un de nos Secretaires; fait à Montreal le premier Aoust 1738.

BEAUHARNOIS

Par Monseigneur

CHANUAZART

Lettre de M. Le Général au sujet des officiers de milice. Du 19 7^{bre} 1746. (Collection judiciaire de Montréal).

La lettre Ecrite par Mr Le Général à Mr Decouagne, capitaine de milice, au Sujet du rang des officiers de milice a Eté Enregistrée ainsy qu'il Ensuit ce requérant Le s^r Jean B^{bte} Le Comte Dupré, négociant Et capitaine de milice en cette Ville, Et à luy à l'instant rendue à Québec, ce 12 aoust 1746.

Les officiers de milice des Cotes, monsieur, ne sont point fondés à prétendre qu'ils doivent avoir le pas sur les officiers de milice des villes. C'est une chose décidée De tout temps Et que mes prédécesseurs dans toutes les occasions ont fait observer de faire marcher les officiers de milice des villes avant ceux des Cotes, que ces premiers ont droit De Commander selon les Circonstances par la meme Décision. Quebec qui est la Capitale de la colonie jouit des memes prérogatives sur les deux autres villes Et est à leur Egard ce que ces Dernières sont à toutes Les Cotes de ce Continent. Je suis parfaitement, Monsieur, votre très humble Et très obéissant serviteur,

Beauharnois.

Danré De Blanzy (paraphe)

REGLEMENT

que le Roy veut estre observé pour le payement des officiers et soldats de marine qui sont et seront destinéz pour servir dans la Nouvelle France, 10 avril, 1684. (Archives des Colonies, B, II, pp. 18-21.)

PREMIEREMENT

Sa Majesté fera payer les officiers qui commandent les dites compagnies a raison de 3^{lvs} par jour et de 90^{lvs} par mois et l'officier subalterne a raison de 40^s.

Elle veut que les compagnies soient tousjours composées au moins du nombre de cinquante hommes et lorsqu'elles diminueront jusques en dessous de 40, Elle veut que les soldats soient incorporez dans les autres compagnies et les officiers licentiez.

Il y aura en chacune compagnie deux sergens, 3, caporaux, 3, l'ampessades et 42 soldats.

La solde du sergent sera de 15^s par jour, du caporal 10^s du l'ampessade 8^s et du soldat 6^s.

Le pain de munition leur sera fourny en farines qui seront envoyées de La Rochelle, ou autres ports dans des caques de 200^{lvs} de farine chacun, non compris le son qui en sera osté sur le pied de 15^{lvs} de son sur 200^{lvs} de farine.

Les dites 200^{lvs} de farine seront delivrées pour 150 rations de pain de 24 onces chacune, cuit et rassis ainsy qu'il se pratique pour les troupes des armées de terre de Sa Majesté, et pour chacune ration il sera desduit aus-dits sergens, caporaux, l'ampessades et soldats 18^d sur leur solde par jour.

Il sera envoyé de plus par chacun ou pour chacun soldat.

Un justaucorps de drap doublé de revesche valant 10^{lvs}.

Un justaucorps de toile grise rayée 4^{lvs}.

Deux hauts de chausses de la dite toile a 40^s pièce.

Deux paires de bas de la dite toile a 10^s la paire.

Trois chemises a 30^s pièce.

Deux paires de souliers a 3^s la paire.

Un chapeau bordé d'un galon de 50^s.

Trois cravates à 6^s 8^d piece.

Le tout revenant a 33^{lvs} pour lesquels il sera retenu autre 18^{drs} sur la dite solde et le surplus sera envoyé en argent, sçavoir 12^s pour chacun sergent, 7^s pour caporal, 5^s pour l'ampessade et 3^s pour le soldat. Le tout suivant et conformément aux estats de Sa Majesté qui seront envoyez sur les lieux. Enjoint Sa Majesté au Sr de la Barre, Gouverneur et son Lieutenant Général, et de Meules, Intendant de justice, police et finances au dit pais, de tenir la main à ce que les reveues soient faites des dites compagnies par chacun mois, et que les payements soient faits aux presens et effectifs conformément au present Règlement.

Fait.....

ESTAT

de la Depense que Le Roy veut et ordonne estre faire par le Trésorier Général de la Marine, M^e Louis de Lubert pour le payement de la solde et entretenement des officiers et soldats servant à la deffense du pais de la Nouvelle France pendant la présente année 1685, ainsy qu'il ensuit. A Versailles le vj^e mars 1685. (Archives des Colonies, B, 11, pp. 244-245.)

PREMIEREMENT

Pour une compagnie composée de 50, hommes par mois v^c xlii^{lvs} x^s sçavoir.

A l'officier

de Marine commandant la dite compagnie
pour ses appointements a 3^{lvs} par jour..... IIII^{xx}xl^{lvs}

A un autre

officier de Marine servant de Lieutenant
a 40^s par jour..... LX^{lvs}

A deux sergens

a 13^s 6^d par jour..... XL^{lvs}X^s

A trois caporaux

a VI^s VI^d diem XXXVIII^{lvs}V^s

A trois amspessades

a VI^s VI^d par jour..... XXIX^{lvs}V^s

A 42 soldats

a 4^s 6^d II^cIII^{xx}III^{lvs}X^s

Total par mois V^c XLI^{lvs} X^s

Pour 12 mois..... VI^s III^c III^{xx} XVIII^{ll}

Et pour dix compagnies... LXIII^s IX^c III^{xxll}

Pour la solde pendant les 4 derniers mois de la dite présente
année de six compagnies d'augmentation qui doivent passer au dit
pais V^cXII^{lvs}V^s par mois..... XII^gIX^cIII^{xx}XVI^{lvs}

Somme totale du present Estat

LXXVII^gIX^cLXXVI^{lvs}

DE PAR LE ROY

TRÉSORIER J.

Donné à.....

II

DOCUMENT RELATIF AUX TROUPES DE LA MARINE,

Règlement pour la levée, solde et discipline des 80 compagnies franches d'infanterie, que le Roi a résolu d'entretenir pour le service des vaisseaux. (Annexe N° 13, pp. 265-268, Coste, Gabriel, Les anciennes troupes de la Marine, Paris. Baudoin, 1893, 9-in, 323 p.)

A VERSAILLES, le 16 décembre 1690.

Le Roi voulant entretenir un nombre considérable de soldats, pour former les compagnies des vaisseaux de guerre que Sa Majesté fera mettre en mer à l'avenir, et désirant prévenir les contestations qui pourraient arriver sur ce sujet, et établir dans ces compagnies une borne et exacte discipline, Elle a résolu le présent règlement, ainsi qu'il en suit :

1^o Il sera entretenu dans les ports de Toulon, Rochefort, Port-Louis, Brest, le Havre et Dunkerque, et dans les villes et paroisses voisines 80 compagnies franches d'infanterie, composées de 100 hommes chacune, savoir : 1 capitaine d'armes, 4 sergents, 8 caporaux, 2 tambours, 1 fifre et 84 soldats. Les caporaux et 30 soldats seront armés de fusils et les 54 autres soldats de mousquets.

2^o Chaque compagnie sera commandée par 3 officiers de marine, savoir : 1 lieutenant et 2 enseignes auxquels, outre leurs brevets d'officiers de marine, il sera donné par le secrétaire d'Etat de la marine, au lieutenant une commission de capitaine d'infanterie et aux deux enseignes des lettres de Sa Majesté adressées aux capitaines pour les faire reconnaître, l'un en qualité de lieutenant, l'autre en qualité d'enseigne.

3^o Ces capitaines auront rang entre eux à terre, du jour et date de leur commission et les subalternes du jour des lettres de Sa Majesté en vertu desquelles ils auront été reconnus officiers d'infanterie sans avoir égard à leur brevet d'officier de marine; mais à la mer et même à terre, pour les fonctions qui sont du service de la marine, comme pour la garde du port et celle de l'arsenal, ils auront rang, tant entre eux qu'avec les autres officiers de la marine qui n'auront point de compagnies, du jour et date de leurs brevets d'officier de marine.

4^o Ces officiers recevront leurs appointements ordinaires d'officiers de marine, et Sa Majesté leur fera donner encore, savoir : aux capitaines 50 livres de gratification par mois, tant en mer qu'en terre, aux lieutenants 20 livres et aux enseignes 15 livres.

5^o Les capitaines d'armes seront payés à raison de 25 livres par mois, tant en mer qu'en terre; les sergents, 19 livres 10 sols en mer; les caporaux, tambours et fifres, 13 livres 10 sols, et les soldats 9 livres. Lesdits caporaux, tambours, fifres et soldats auront la même paye lorsqu'ils seront logés par ordre de Sa Majesté dans les villes et villages voisins des ports; mais dans lesdits ports, en attendant que les casernes soient faites, ils recevront 1 sol par jour en plus pour leur logement.

6^o Tous les soldats seront habillés d'une même parure. A cet effet, il sera mis un habit complet au magasin général de chaque port pour servir de modèle.

Tous les deux ans, il sera fait une adjudication publique de la fourniture de ces habits. Le prix de chaque pièce sera expliqué dans l'adjudication qui sera faite.

7^o L'habit d'un soldat consistera en un justaucorps de drap gris blanc, doublé de reversche bleue et garni de boutons d'étain, une culotte bleue de serge d'Aumale doublée de toile, de bas de même serge, une paire de souliers, deux chemises, une cravate,

un chapeau bordé d'un bord d'argent faux, un ceinturon façon d'élan et une épée. A l'égard des tambours et fifres, ils seront habillés des livrées de Sa Majesté.

8^o Il sera donné, tous les deux ans, à tous les soldats des justaucorps d'uniforme, et tous les ans le surplus des hardes; le justaucorps et la culotte seront pris sur le provenu de la solde pendant la campagne et le surplus sur le décompte.

9^o Il sera retenu, sur ce décompte, un sol par jour sur la paye de chacun desdits sergents, caporaux, tambours, fifres et soldats pour leur acheter les hardes dont ils auront besoin, et les capitaines seront obligés d'en faire embarquer avec eux pour en fournir en mer.

10^o Lorsque Sa Majesté estimera à propos d'augmenter le nombre des soldats qu'elle entretiendra, soit en augmentant la compagnie, soit en en faisant de nouvelles, Elle fera donner aux capitaines, pour chacun de ses soldats, 10 écus d'avance qui seront retenus sur la solde desdits soldats; et moyennant ces 10 écus les capitaines seront obligés de représenter le nombre des soldats qui leur ont été demandés, bons et en état de servir, habillés comme il est dit ci-dessus, et il ne sera reçu aucun de ces soldats qu'ils n'aient été vus par le commandant du port, l'intendant et le major.

11^o L'officier commandant chaque compagnie remplacera à ses dépens les morts et les déserteurs et fera tous les frais de recherches et d'engagements, perte d'avances et habits, soit qu'elles arrivent par désertion, mort ou congé et en quelque autre occasion que ce puisse être.

12^o Il ne sera reçu aucun capitaine d'armes, sergents ni caporaux, qu'ils n'aient fait les mêmes fonctions sur les vaisseaux de Sa Majesté et qu'ils n'aient été agréés par les commandants du port, intendants et majors.

13^o Sa Majesté nommera dans chacun de ses ports un ou plusieurs commissaires de la marine, pour surveiller la police de ces compagnies. Ces commissaires tiendront un rôle de chaque compagnie, dans lequel ils feront mention du pays de chaque soldat, de son âge, poil, jour de son enrôlement et de toutes les marques auxquelles il pourra être reconnu. Ils feront les revues de ces compagnies suivant les ordres particuliers qui leur en seront donnés par les intendants; auront soin de l'emploi qui sera fait du décompte des soldats, et entretiendront des registres exacts aussi bien que des paiements qui leur seront faits tant à l'embarquement qu'au débarquement, et généralement de tout ce qui regardera les soldats.

14^o Les soldats ne feront la garde, tant sur les vaisseaux que dans les autres endroits où il sera nécessaire pour le service, que de trois jours pour l'un; pourront cependant ceux desdits soldats qui auront un métier et qui travailleront dans l'arsenal, ou ailleurs, faire faire leur garde par leurs camarades en convenant entre eux de ce que ceux qui travailleront donneront aux autres.

15^o La garde des vaisseaux et de l'arsenal se fera en la manière ordinaire et suivant qu'il est prescrit par les ordonnances de la marine. Les officiers qui commanderont la compagnie la monteront, comme les autres officiers de marine, à leur tour et obéiront au capitaine de garde et aux autres officiers de marine de même rang, qu'eux, lorsque les autres officiers seront plus anciens, comme il est expliqué par l'article 3 du présent règlement.

16^o Les sergents et caporaux qui seront envoyés en recrue ou à la poursuite des déserteurs, et les soldats qui seront malades dans les ports, seront exempts de payer leurs gardes, et le service sera fait alternativement en leur place par ceux de la même compagnie.

17^o Sa Majesté veut que les majors ou aides-majors fassent faire tous les jours dans le port, l'exercice aux escouades qui seront de garde, et qu'ils rassemblent ces soldats tous les jours de dimanches et fêtes pour leur faire faire en corps l'exercice, leur montrer les évolutions, et leur apprendre à charger et à jeter les grenades; et comme il est important qu'ils soient instruits aussi dans l'exercice du canon, il en sera envoyé tous les jours par le major une escouade composée d'un tiers de compagnie au lieu où se feront les exercices.

18^o Les compagnies seront embarquées entières sur un même vaisseau ou par détachements lorsque cela sera nécessaire. Les trois officiers qui les commanderont s'embarqueront ainsi sur le même vaisseau lorsque les compagnies entières y seront, et lorsqu'il en faudra faire des détachements il y aura, au moins, un officier desdites compagnies avec chacun de ces détachements, en observant que le capitaine doit toujours rester avec la plus grande partie de sa compagnie, soit qu'elle s'embarque soit qu'elle reste à terre.

19^o Les officiers des compagnies serviront d'officiers du bord sur les vaisseaux où ils seront embarqués et prendront rang avec les autres officiers de marine, du jour et date de leurs brevets de lieutenants ou enseignes de marine.

20° Sa Majesté veut que les officiers généraux et capitaines qui commanderont ses vaisseaux, y reçoivent les compagnies entières ou par détachements, comme il est expliqué dans l'article 18 du présent règlement, sans qu'il leur soit permis de prendre, ni officiers, ni soldats dans les compagnies destinées aux autres vaisseaux, et ce à peine d'interdiction; et Elle veut que le major général ou les majors particuliers qui se trouveront dans les ports l'informent des contraventions qui seront faites à cet article, à peine de cassation.

21° Lorsque les armements ne seront pas assez considérables pour faire embarquer tous les soldats que le roi entretiendra, les compagnies seront embarquées, alternativement, entières ou par détachements suivant qu'il conviendra à l'armement qui sera ordonné; l'intention de Sa Majesté étant que l'on prenne par préférence les compagnies qui auraient été le plus longtemps sans servir.

22° Sa Majesté veut que les soldats soient exercés pendant qu'ils seront à la mer, à tout ce qui regarde le service des vaisseaux, afin que si, dans la suite, ils souhaitent devenir officiers marinières ou matelots et qu'ils y soient jugés propres par le commandant et l'intendant du port, il leur soit donné congé, à la charge de se faire employer sur le rôle des classes. Au surplus, sera l'ordonnance de la marine du 15 avril 1689 exécutée selon sa forme et teneur en ce qui regarde la police desdites compagnies et la punition des soldats déserteurs et des passe-volants.

Mande et ordonne, Sa Majesté, à M. le comte de Toulouse, amiral de France, aux vice-amiraux, lieutenants généraux, intendants, chefs d'escadre, major général, capitaines et tous autres officiers qu'il appartiendra, de tenir la main à l'exécution du présent règlement.

Fait à Versailles, le 16 décembre 1690.

Signé: LOUIS.

Et plus bas: PHELYPEAUX.

Reglement du Roy, Pour la Conduite, Police & Discipline des Compagnies que Sa Majesté entretient dans le Canada. Du 30 May 1695

(Archives des Colonies, F³ vol. 7, fol. 748-764)

Reglement du Roy, Pour la Conduite, Marche, Police, & Discipline des Compagnies que sa Majesté entretient dans le Canada

Sa Majesté ayant pourveu par son Reglement du 15 Octobre 1691, à ce qui n'avoit pû estre prévu par les Ordonnances précédentes pour la conduite, marche, police & discipline des Compagnies qu'elle entretient dans la Marine, & ayant reconnu depuis qu'il s'est glissé des abus dans celles qui sont entretenues en Canada, Elle a resolu d'y pourvoir par le present Reglement, ainsi qu'il ensuit.

PREMIÈREMENT

Il sera délivré par ordre de l'Intendant de Canada aux Capitaines commandans ces Compagnies, un mousquet pour chacun de leurs Soldats, dont ils feront leurs recepissez, & s'obligeant de les faire entretenir & raccommoder à leurs dépens, & de les remettre dans les magasins toutes les fois qu'ils en seront requis.

Les Compagnies qui seront envoyées d'un lieu à un autre, marcheront toujours en bon ordre, tambour battant, les Officiers à leur teste, & les Soldats avec leurs mousquets.

Lors qu'ils arriveront dans les lieux où ils doivent loger, le Commandant fera mettre les Compagnies en bataille sur la place; ensuite de quoy il fera publier un ban portant défenses aux Officiers & soldats de commettre aucun desordre, ny d'entrer en d'autres logis qu'en ceux qui leur auront esté marquez par leurs billets de logement.

Il leur sera aussi défendu d'exiger de leurs Hostes que ce qui est porté par les Ordonnances de Sa Majesté, & suivant l'usage du Pais, à peine de cassation pour les Officiers, & de la vie pour les soldats.

Sa Majesté défend à tous Officiers de se loger ailleurs que dans les maisons qui leur auront esté marquées dans les lieux ou hors des lieux de leurs départemens, ny de changer leurs routes, à peine de cassation.

Il leur est défendu sous pareille peine de quitter leurs Compagnies pendant les marches, & aux soldats de s'en écarter sous peine de la vie.

Avant que les Compagnies Franches partent des lieux où elles auront logé, le Gouverneur ou Commandant fer publier un ban pour avertir les Habitans de venir faire

leurs plaintes contre les Officiers & soldats qui pourroient avoir fait quelque tort ou dommage, & en cas qu'il s'en trouve, le Commandant des Compagnies Franches en fera faire la reparation sur le champ.

Les Officiers des Compagnies Franches prendront l'ordre & le mot des Gouverneurs ou Commandans des Villes, où ils logeront, & luy obéiront.

Le bois & la chandelle necessaire pour le corps de garde, seront fournis aux dépens du Roy par les soins de l'Intendant.

Les Commandans des Compagnies Franches dans les quartiers particuliers où il n'y aura ny Major ny Ayde-Major, pourront choisir l'un des Officiers subalternes des Compagnies, pour faire la fonction d'Ayde-Major dans le quartier, & luy en donneront un ordre par écrit, duquel ils enverront une copie au Gouverneur General.

Le Major des Troupes & les Capitaines des Compagnies Franches feront faire deux fois la semaine l'exercice du mousquet à tous les soldats, & une fois la semaine celui de la Grenade, après avoir averti le Gouverneur ou Commandant du jour & de l'heure qu'ils auront pris. Pour cet effet les soldats se rendront aux jours marquez à la porte du Capitaine, avec leurs épées et mousquets, à l'heure qu'on battera l'Assemblée, leurs Officiers marchant à leur teste la pique à la main.

Le Major des Troupes sera obligé à peine d'interdiction d'avertir le Commandant du quartier, s'il y a quelqu'autre Officier qui ait manqué de se trouver aux exercices, & de marcher la pique à la main avec les Compagnies, en allant au lieu où se doit faire l'exercice, & au retour jusques à la porte du Capitaine.

Les Officiers des Compagnies Franches qui auront manqué aux ordres cy dessus, seront mis en arrest pendant huit jours, & le Commandant sera obligé d'en avertir le Gouverneur General, Sa Majesté reservant audit Sieur Gouverneur d'ordonner une plus grande peine en cas de recidive.

Les Sergens qui retiendront quelque chose sur les gardes que les soldats feront les uns pour les autres, seront cassez.

Les Sergens seront commandez pour porter l'ordre en mesme temps aux Officiers qui doivent recevoir le mot, conformément aux Ordonnances de sa Majesté.

Il sera commandé un Sergent dans les quartiers où il y aura plusieurs Compagnies, qui se tiendra chez le Commandant en chef, jusques à ce qu'il soit relevé par un autre, pour executer ce qui luy pourra estre ordonné concernant les soldats.

Aucun Officier ne pourra sortir du quartier sans congé du Commandant, & il n'en sera donné à aucun que pour huit jours au plus, & pour des occasions de necessité connue, dont ledit Commandant donnera avis au Gouverneur General & au Major des Troupes, à peine d'en répondre.

Les Officiers particuliers ne pourront donner congé à aucuns Sergens, Caporaux ny soldats, sans la permission du Commandant.

Ceux qui auront donné congé aux Soldats pour aller hors de leurs quartiers, seront responsables des desordres, vols & autres dommages que ces soldats auront commis.

S'il arrive quelque querelle ou differend entre les Officiers, le Commandant du quartier les fera mettre en prison au corps de garde, ou en arrest, selon les cas.

Mais lorsque les Officiers ou des Soldats auront commis quelque crime à l'endroit des Habitans, la connoissance en appartiendra aux Juges des lieux, sans que les Officiers des Troupes puissent en connoître ny faire sortir de prison ceux qui auront esté emprisonnez par l'autorité des Juges ordinaires, ausquels toutes fois ils pourront faire leurs requisitions.

Le Commissaire sera obligé de faire reveüe tous les deux mois pendant le temps que la saison le permettra, & tous les fois qu'il sera possible pendant l'hyver, aux jours qui lui seront marquez.

Pourra aussi faire ces reveuës dans d'autres temps, en avertissant les Commandans de mettre les Troupes sous les armes.

Le Major des Troupes assistera aux reveuës qui seront faites par le Commissaire, & les signera, & il les pourra faire séparément, tant pour y entretenir la discipline, que pour la verification desdites reveuës.

Ledit Major & le Commissaire examineront exactement les armes & les habits des soldats, & tiendront la main à ce que les Capitaines les fassent entretenir en bon état; & en cas que quelqu'un manquest à y satisfaire, ils en donneront avis au Gouverneur General & à l'Intendant lesquels feront retenir sur les appointemens de l'Officier les sommes ausquelles monteront les reparations qu'il y aura à faire tant aux mousquets qu'aux habits des soldats.

Ils ne pourront passer aucun soldat sur les reveuës, s'il n'est actuellement present, à le reserve de ceux qu'ils auront verifié eux-mesmes avoir esté détachez pour le service par ordre du Commandant ou du Gouverneur; sur le certificat qui en sera rapporté, &

de ceux qui seront malades dans les Hospitaux des lieux; mais à l'égard de ceux qu'on pourroit alleguer estre malades chez eux, ils ne seront point passez presens, quand mesme ils auroient eu congé de leur Capitaine.

Le Major des Troupes, ou celui qui fera les fonctions d'Ayde Major, donnera son certificat particulier comme tous les soldats compris dans les extraits de revêuë qu'ils auront signez, auront monté les gardes ausquelles ils seront obligez pendant le mois, & qu'ils se seront trouvez aux exercices qui se doivent faire deux fois la semaine; & en cas de prévarication par ledit Major ou Ayde-Major, ils seront cassez.

Les Capitaines ne pourront employer dans leurs Compagnies que les soldats qui auront esté approuvez par le Gouverneur Général, & dont le signalement sera enregistré; & s'il s'en trouve d'autres, ils seront declarez passe-volans, tirez des rangs, & arrestez, pour leur estre fait leur procès suivant la rigueur des Ordonnances.

S'il se verifioit dans les suites que dans les reveües precedentes, il y eust eu des passe-volans, le Major & le Commissaire qui les auront signez seront cassez.

Les Capitaines ne pourront employer aucun valet dans le nombre complet de leurs soldats, & les valets qui se trouveront dans les rangs en qualité de soldats, seront reputez passe volans, & recevront le mesmes chastiment.

Les Fraters des Compagnies seront censez soldats & en feront toutes les fonctions.

Les Sergens seront obligez de visiter deux fois par jour tous les soldats de leur Escouade pour estre continuellement informez où ils sont & de leur conduite, afin d'en pouvoir rendre compte à leur Capitaine, & l'avertir des desertions s'il en arrive.

Il sera retenu deux écus sur la paye des Sergens qui n'auront pas averti leur Capitaine dans le temps de douze heures, de la desertion d'un soldat de leur Escouade.

Si un Sergent retombe une seconde fois dans une semblable faute il sera cassé;

Il sera donné par ordre de l'Intendant deux écus à chaque soldat qui avertira de la desertion d'un autre soldat, pourvû qu'il donne cet avis deux heures après la desertion.

Le Capitaine Commandant du quartier dans lequel un soldat aura deserté, le Major des Troupes & le Capitaine du soldat deserteur, écriront chacun en particulier au Gouverneur General, & à l'Intendant, le nom & le signalement de ce soldat, & rendront compte en mesme temps des diligences qui auront esté faites pour l'arrester, & quels officiers y auront esté employez.

Les deserteurs des Compagnies seront jugez dans le quartier le plus proche si les Officiers y sont en nombre suffisant, en la forme prescrite par l'Ordonnance de la Marine du 15 Avril 1689. & s'il ne se trouve point dans le quartier sept Capitaines presens pour faire le nombre des juges necessaires, le Commandant pourra appeller les Lieutenans & les Enseignes des Compagnies qui auront atteint l'âge de vingt deux ans, auxquels Sa Majesté permet d'entrer dans les Conseils de Guerre, au cas de défaut du nombre suffisant de Capitaines.

Si le Major des Troupes ne se trouve pas dans le quartier, & qu'il n'y ait qu'un seul Ayde-Major, cet Ayde Major dressera luy mesme les Informations & en ce cas le second Capitaine du quartier fera la fonction de Major & donnera ses conclusions.

Le Major enverra aussi-tost après la Jugement au Gouverneur General & à l'Intendant un extrait du Resultat du Conseil de Guerre, lequel sera cependant executé.

S'il arrive que les deserteurs après lesquels on aura fait courir en la forme cy dessus, ne soient pas pris & arrestez, le Major des Troupes & le Capitaine en donneront avis au Gouverneur general, & à l'Intendant, afin qu'ils puissent envoyer les ordres necessaires pour en faire la recherche dans les autres lieux.

Le Prevost qui aura arrêté quelques deserteurs, les fera conduire dans le plus prochain quartier; & en cas qu'il ne trouve point les deserteurs qu'on luy aura denoncé, il en dressera des procès verbaux qu'il en voyera au Gouverneur General & à l'Intendant, à peine contre ledit Prevost, ses Officiers & Archers, d'estre privez d'une année de leurs gages & appointemens.

Tout soldat ou autre de quelque condition qu'il soit qui se trouvera atteint & convaincu d'avoir debauché les soldats pour leur faire abandonner le service, ou les aura induits a desertion, sera puny des peines des Galeres sans remission.

Les Capitaines n'admettront aucun soldat de recrûe que par l'approbation & l'ordre par écrit du Gouverneur General, visé par le Major & le Commissaire quand ils seront sur les lieux.

Les soldats de recrûe envoyez de France seront examinez sur les Rolles qui en seront remis en la maniere prescrite par l'Ordonnance du 15 avril 1689 & suivant qu'il convient au service du Canada, par le Commandant, par le Major des Troupes, & par le Commissaire, pour estre lesdits soldats distribuez dans les compagnies également.

Les Commandants des Compagnies en chaque quartier rendront compte une fois chaque semaine de tout ce qui se passera au sujet de la police, discipline, et exercices des Compagnies; comme aussi de l'application des officiers qui les commandent, au Gouverneur General, qui en informera le Secretaire d'Etat ayant le département de la Marine.

Les capitaines ne donneront point congé aux soldats les jours de leurs gardes & services ny en aucun temps, pour aller hors de l'étenduë de leurs quartiers, sous quelque pretexte que ce soit, & en cas de necessité pour aller hors de cette etenduë, le congé sera préalablement approuvé par le Gouverneur, & il en sera donné avis au Gouverneur General & a l'Intendant.

Les Soldats pourront estre employez aux fortifications & autres ouvrages pour le compte du Roy; il leur sera pourvû d'un supplément de paye qui sera réglé par le Gouverneur & l'Intendant, aux dépens de Sa Majesté, sans que les Capitaines ny autres puissent leur retenir aucune chose en argent, vivres, habits ny hardes, a peine de restitution, & d'estre cassez.

Lorsque le service pourra permettre de donner congé aux Soldats de travailler pour le compte des Habitans pendant leur sejour dans les quartiers, les Capitaines ne le pourront accorder pour les lieux éloignez ny autres que pour ceux de l'étenduë desdits quartiers, & hors l'étenduë desdits quartiers, sans pouvoir rien retenir du salaire qu'ils pourront tirer des Habitans, ny sur leurs vivres; Sa Majesté defend aux Capitaines et autres Officiers d'employer des soldats pour leur compte & services particuliers, le tout sous mesme peine de restitution & de cassation.

Les habits et hardes envoyez de France pour la valeur desquels il est retenu dix huit deniers par jour sur la paye de chaque soldat, seront remis du Magasin au Major des Troupes en presence du Commissaire, sur son recepissé, pour le nombre competant des Soldats de chacune Compagnie, sur le pied de la dernière revuë, pour estre ensuite distribuez aux Capitaines, qui en donneront pareillement leur recepissé, portant promesse d'en rendre compte, & qu'ils seront tenus de faire, & les Major & Commissaire, d'en faire la verification aux revuës suivantes; comme aussi de se faire rendre les habits & hardes des morts & autres, que-de-ceux des effectifs, pour estre remis aux magasins du Roy.

La solde de ceux qui seront morts, ne pourra estre étenduë au dela du jour de leur deceds ny ce qui leur en sera deub, employé que pour compenser l'avance que les Capitaines leur auroient pû faire auparavant, & pour le payement de leurs dettes justifiées, s'il y a de reste.

La paye des Soldats qui seront mis aux Hospitaux sera remise en entier, le decempte des habits déduits pour ayder à les medicamenter, & traiter pendant leur maladie, avec le supplément ordonné par sa Majesté, & dont la remise sera faite ausdits Hospitaux, sur le certificat desdits Major et Commissaire, contenant les noms des soldats, le jour qu'un chacun d'eux aura esté mis dans lesdits Hospitaux, & leur sortie, à l'effet de quoy les dits Commissaire & Major en feront faire la verification.

Sa Majesté veut que les soldats soient payez sur le pied du prix de l'exposition des especes en France, & que quand il leur sera fourni des vivres & des hardes extraordinaires envoyez de France, la valeur leur en soit decemptée sur le prix de l'achat en France, suivant les comptes et factures d'envoy.

Tant qu'il conviendra pour l'avantage & le soulagement des soldats, & pour le service de Sa Majesté, de faire faire tout ou partie des vivres des soldats, le decempte leur en sera aussi fait sur le pied de la valeur des especes en France.

Le Major des Troupes & le Commissaire seront appelez pour les ordres à donner, & les achats à faire desdits vivres, afin qu'ils puissent aider de leurs avis & soins, pour procurer le meilleur marché au benefice des soldats.

Les vivres seront remis à l'ordinaire des magasins aux Capitaines, & la distribution en sera par eux faite dans le temps, & en la quantité qu'il conviendra au service & a une juste oëconomie, en presence du Major des Troupes & du Commissaire dans les temps des reveues & lors qu'ils se trouveront dans les quartiers, conjointement & separement de quoy ils feront l'un & l'autre la vérification d'un temps à l'autre avec les soldats, pour prévenir et empescher les abus, dont lesdits Major & Commissaire demeureront responsables; & en cas qu'ils decouvrent des malversations au prejudice des soldats, ils en remettront leurs procès verbaux au Gouverneur General & a l'Intendant, pour estre pourveu à la restitution, & d'un chastiment competent, & de cassation en cas de recidive.

Le Major des Troupes & le Commissaire seront aussi appelez avec quelques-uns des principaux Officiers des Troupes pour regler le decempte des soldats, & ce

qui devra leur estre payé en argent, qui sera distribué par le Major des Troupes & le Commissaire, conjointement & separément en présence des Commandans, ausquels l'Intendant donnera connoissance de ce decompte.

Le Major des Troupes rendra compte au Secrétaire d'Etat ayant le département de la Marine, de l'exécution du contenu au present Reglement, & de ce qui luy paroistra de la conduite & des services des Officiers desdites Troupes. Enjoint Sa Majesté au Sieur Comte de Frontenac Gouverneur & Lieutenant General en Canada & France Septentrionale, & au Sieur de Champigny Intendant audit Pais, conjointement & chacun en droit soy, d'y tenir ponctuellement la main aussi bien qu'à l'exécution de l'Ordonnance de la Marine des 15 Avril 1689 & des Reglemens des 16 Decembre 1690 & 15 octobre 1691 en ce qu'ils ne sont pas contraires au present, qui sera enregistré, publié & affiché par tout ou besoin sera, afin que personne n'en ignore.

Fait à Marly le trente May mil six cens quatre-vingt quinze. Signé LOUIS: Et plus bas PHELYPEAUX.

21 mai 1698.

Ordonnance en faveur des soldats des compagnies de Canada qui voudront se faire habitans, 21 mai 1696. (Archives des Colonies F³, Vol. 8, pp. 186-187.)

S. M. estant informée que parmi les soldats dont sont composées les Compagnies qu'elle entretient en Canada il y en a plusieurs qui seroient bien aises de se faire habitans et qui ont toutes les qualités nécessaires pour contribuer au bien et à la solidité de la colonie, Elle a ordonné et ordonne, veut et entend que ceux qui trouveront à s'établir par mariage avec des filles ou veuves nées ou établies en la dite colonie soient congédiés des dites compagnies sur la 1^{re} demande qu'ils en feront et que les habits d'ordonnance qu'ils auront leur demeurent, sans que sous aucun prétexte les officiers les puissent retenir et afin de leur donner les moyens de s'établir et de subsister en attendant que les terres qui leur seront données à défricher puissent porter le bled et les autres denrées nécessaires à leur subsistance, Sa Majesté leur a accordé une année de solde qui leur sera payée sur les ordonnances du Sr de Champigny, Intendant au dit pais. Mande et ordonne S. M. au sieur Comte de Frontenac &c.

ETAT de l'habillement et hardes à envoyer en l'année 1729 pour les troupes des Colonies. (Archives des Colonies. Série B., Vol. 51, pp. 191-3.)

A QUEBEC par la flutte l'Elephant

Pour 28 Compagnies qui composent 812 hommes

- 56 Vestes pour Sergents de drap bleue de Lodève fin
- 756 vestes pour soldats de mazamet large drapé bleu
- 812 Culottes de mesme mazamet pour sergens et soldats
- 56 Chapeaux pour Sergens borde de d'un galon d'or fin
- 756 Chapeaux pour soldats borde de d'un galon d'or faux
- 56 paires de bas de Nismes bleus pour sergents
- 756 paires de bas de St Maixant drapés bleus pour soldats
- 1624 Chemises de toile de brin Rousse
- 1624 Cravattes de toile blanche de St Jean de Lyon
- 1624 paires de Souliers a deux Semelles

A L'ISLE ROYALE par la flutte le dromadaire

Pour six Compagnies composées de 360 hommes

- 12 Just au Corps pour Sergents de drap gris blancs de Lodeve
- 6 Just au Corps pour tambours de drap de Lodeve bleu avec Galon de la livrée du Roy
- 342 Just au corps pour soldats de drap de Lodeve gris blanc
- 360 Culottes de Boisseron drapé bleu
- 12 paires de bas de Nismes bleue pour Sergents
- 348 paires de bas de St. Maixant drapé bleu pour soldats
- 12 Chapeaux pour Sergents Bordez d'un galon d'or fin
- 348 Chapeaux pour Soldats Bordez d'un galon d'or faux
- 720 Chemises de toile de Brin rousse
- 720 Cravattes de toile blanche de St Jean de Lyon
- 720 paires de Souliers a deux semelles
- 360 Ceinturons de peau de Bufile a Simple piqueure
- 348 fournimens de Corne garnis de cuivre jaune
- 348 Gargoussiers

Fait a fontainebleau le 26 8bre 1728

Signé MAUREPAS

Ordonnances du Roy portant augmentation dans les troupes du Canada. (Archives des Colonies B. 91, pp. 67-69.)

S. M. voulant augmenter les troupes du détachement de la marine qu'elle entretenait en Canada, Elle auroit donné ses ordres pour la levée des recrues nécessaires pour la dite augmentation Et voulant expliquer ses intentions à ce sujet, Elle a ordonné et ordonne ce qui suit.

Art. 1^{er}

Il sera entretenu dans la Colonie de Canada 30 Compagnies de 50 hommes chacune non compris les officiers scavoir de deux sergents, Trois Caporaux, un Cadet à l'Eguillette, un Cadet soldat, deux Tambours et 41 soldats, chacune des dites Compagnies sera commandée par un Capitaine, un Lieutenant, un Enseigne en pied et un Enseigne en second; et chacun des cadets Soldats sera pourvu d'un ordre du G^{eur} Lt g^{al} de la Colonie enregistré au contrôle de la Marine de Québec.

2.

Les d. 30 Compagnies de 50 hommes chacune seront formées tant des 28 Compagnies de 28 hommes chacune qui composent la garnison actuelle de la Colonie, que des nouvelles levées faites en exécution des ordres de S. M. Les Sergents, Caporaux, Cadets et Soldats des d. Compagnies anciennes seront reparties également suivant les ordres particuliers que S. M. donnera au Gouverneur et son Lt général dans la dite Colonie; et il y aura en outre dans les dites Compagnies un Tambour Major avec un fifre le premier desquels sera payé à raison de 18^l par mois, et le second jouira du traitement et de la solde de Tambour.

3.

Les Capitaines, Lieutenants et Enseignes qui commandent les 28 anciennes Compagnies conserveront leur rang d'ancienneté à compter de la date de leurs commissions et Lettres de service; et les off^{ers} des comp^{es} nouvelles prendront le leur à compter pareillement de la date de leurs commissions et Lettres de Service.

4.

Les appointements des Capitaines, Lieutenants et Enseignes qui commanderont les deux Compagnies nouvelles, et la solde des sergents, Caporaux, Cadets, Tambours et Soldats d'icelles seront payés sur le même pied des anciennes Compagnies suivant les Etats qui seront annuellement expédiés pour les dépenses de la d. Colonie.

Mande S. M. aux Srs. M^{is} de la Jonquière Gouverneur Lt. general pour Elle, et Bigot Intendant en la Nouvelle France de tenir la main chacun en droit soy à l'exécution de la présente ordonnance, qui sera publiée partout ou besoin sera et enregistrée au Bureau du Contrôle de la Marine à Québec, fait à V^{lles} le 10 avril 1750.

Ordonnance concernant l'établissement d'une Compagnie de Canoniers Bombardiers en Canada. (Archives des Colonies, B. 91, pp. 77-81.)

A VERSAILLES, le 10 avril 1750.

De par LE ROY

Sa Mté estimant nécessaire d'établir dans la Nouvelle France une Compagnie de Canoniers Bombardiers pour le service des différentes batteries qui y ont été construites et de toute l'artillerie qui y a été placée, Et voulant expliquer ses intentions tant sur le service et la police de la d. Compagnie que sur le traitement qui doit lui être fait, S. M. a ordonné et ordonne ce qui suit.

Art. 1^{er}

La dite Compagnie sera composée d'un Capitaine, d'un Lieutenant, d'un Enseigne, de deux sergents, de trois Caporaux, de deux Tambours et de 43 Canoniers.

2.

Le Gouverneur Lieutenant général pour S. M. dans la Colonie choisira indifféremment dans les Compagnies des Troupes qui y sont en garnison les Sujets qui, par leur conduite et leurs talents pour l'artillerie, paroîtront les plus propres pour le service de la dite Compagnie de Canoniers, et les y fera incorporer.

3.

La dite Compagnie sera instruite et exercée dans tout ce qui concerne l'artillerie, et uniquement destinée à ce service.

4.

Lorsqu'il y aura des Sujets qui négligeront les dites instructions et exercices, Le Gouverneur Lieutenant general de la Colonie les fera sur la demande du Capitaine, sortir de la dite Compagnie et rentrer dans les troupes ordinaires; Et le Dit Capitaine pourra, sur l'ordre du dit S. Gouverneur Lieutenant général, choisir dans les dites troupes les sujets convenables pour remplacer dans la dite Compagnie ceux qui en seront ainsi sortis; comme aussi pour remplacer ceux qui y seront morts.

5.

La discipline de la dite Compagnie ne sera attribuée qu'aux officiers d'icelle.

6.

Le Capitaine qui la commandera roulera du jour de sa commission avec les autres Capitaines de la garnison; Et le Lieutenant et l'Enseigne de la dite Compagnie avec les autres Lieutenants et Enseignes.

7.

Lorsque les troupes de la garnison prendront les armes, la dite Compagnie sera à la teste, et aura la droite quand elles se trouveront en bataille.

8.

Le Capitaine aura 90^{lvs} par mois, Le Lieutenant 60^{lvs}, L'Enseigne 50^{lvs}, Le premier sergent 40^{lvs}, Le second 30^{lvs}, Les trois Caporaux 20^{lvs} chacun. Les Tambours 18^{lvs} chacun. Les Canoniers seront payés savoir 22 à raison de 18^{lvs} et 21 à raison de 15^{lvs}.

9.

Il sera fourni tous les trois ans aux sergents un habit de drap bleu fin avec des parements rouges, la doublure de serge rouge, bordé d'un double galon d'argent sur les manches, boutons d'argent sur bois, veste rouge avec les boutons de même qu'a l'habit, Culotte, bas rouge, un volant de bouracan bleu uni sans poche, et un chapeau bordé d'argent.

Aux Caporaux le même habillement avec un gallon simple sur les manches; Et a chacun des Canoniers un habit de drap bleu commun avec des parements rouges, boutons blancs de métal d'Allemagne argenté, veste, culotte et bas rouges, un chapeau bordé d'argent faux, et un volant de bouracan bleu uni.

A chacun des Tambours de la dite Compagnie un habit à la grande livrée du Roy, une veste rouge avec un volant de bouracan bleu uni.

Et à chacun des dits sergents, Caporaux, Canoniers et Tambours deux paires de souliers, deux chemises, deux cravattes, deux peignes de bois, deux livres de savon et trois aiguilles.

10.

Il sera fourni aussi dans l'intervalle du dit habillement, et par chaque année à chacun des dits sergents, Caporaux, Canoniers et Tambours une veste, une culotte, une paire de bas, un chapeau, deux paires de souliers, deux chemises, deux cravates, et les ustenciles dont est composé le petit habillement fourni aux troupes ordinaires de la dite Colonie.

11.

La dite Compagnie sera armée d'un fusil grenadier avec sa bayonnette, giberne de cuir, gargoussier de cuir à 27 cartouches avec la bandouliere de Cuir, poulverin de cuir bouilly, d'un sabre avec sa dragone de laine blanche et bleue.

12.

Il sera fourni des magasins de S. M. à la dite Compagnie la ration ordinaire comme aux Compagnies d'Infanterie qui servent dans la dite Colonie.

13.

Il sera retenu 5^{lvs} 5^s par mois pour la dite ration sur la solde de chaque Sergent, Caporal, Canonier et tambour, et pour l'habillement savoir 4^{lvs} 10^s par mois sur la solde du premier sergent, 3^{lvs} 7^s 6^d sur la solde du second sergent 2^{lvs} 5^s sur celle de chaque Caporal, 2^{lvs} 6^d sur celle de chaque Tambour, 2^{lvs} 6^d sur celle de chaque Canonier payé à 18^{lvs} et 1^{lvs} 13^s 9^d sur celle des d. Canoniers payés à 15^{lvs}.

Mande et ordonne S. M. aux S^{rs} Mis de la Jonquière Gouverneur son Lt. g^{al} et Bigot Intendant de la Nouvelle France et à tous autres officiers qu'il apartiendra de tenir chacun en droit soy, la main à l'exécution de la presente ordonnance.
Fait à Versailles le 10 avril 1750.

Ordonnance pour une augmentation de soldats dans les Compagnies du Canada. (Archives des Colonies. Série B., Vol. 103, pp. 72-3)

14 mars 1756.

S. M. ayant jugé à propos de faire une augmentation de soldats dans les Compagnies françoises qu'elle entretient en Canada, elle auroit donné ses ordres pour la levée et l'envoi des recrues nécessaires pour lad. augmentation, et après s'être fait représenter son ordonnance du 10 avril 1750 par laquelle elle auroit réglé qu'il seroit entretenu dans lad. Colonie 30 Compagnies composées de 50 hommes chacune, non compris les Officiers, savoir, de deux Sergents, trois Caporaux, un Cadet à l'aiguillette, un cadet soldat, deux tambours et 4 soldats, et que chaque compagnie seroit commandée par un Capitaine, un Lieutenant, un Enseigne en pied et un Enseigne en second. S. M. a ordonné et ordonne que chacune desd. 30 compagnies sera à l'avenir composé de 65 hommes non compris les officiers savoir de trois sergents, quatre Caporaux, un Cadet à l'aiguillette, un cadet soldat, deux tambours et 54 soldats, et que lesd. sergents, Caporaux et soldats d'augmentation jouiront de la même solde, et auront le même traitement que les autres; à l'effet de quoi lesd. recrues seront incorporées et distribuées dans chacune desd. compagnies jusqu'à concurrence de leur complet sur le pied de lad. augmentation.

Mande S. M. aux S^{rs} De Vaudreuil Gouv. Lieut. Gen. et Bigot Intend. de la Nouvelle France de tenir chacun en droit soi la main à l'exécution de la presente ordonnance laquelle sera regitrée au bureau du Contrôle de la Marine à Quebec.
Fait à Versaille le 14 mars 1756.

Ordonnance pour l'augmentation de la Compagnie de Canoniers.—(Archives des Colonies. Série B., Vol. 103, pp. 71-2)

DE PAR LE ROI

14 mars 1756.

S. M. S'étant fait représenter son ordonnance du 10 avril 1750 portant établissement en Canada d'une compagnie de Canoniers Bombardiers composée de 50 hommes non compris les Officiers, et S. M. estimant nécessaire d'augmenter lad. compagnie pour mieux assurer le service de l'artillerie dans lad. Colonie, S. M. a ordonné et ordonne que lad. Compagnie de Canoniers Bombardiers établie en Canada sera composée de 70 hommes non compris les officiers, savoir 3 sergents, trois Caporaux, deux tambours, et 62 Canoniers, que les Sergents, Caporaux et tambours continueront de jouir du traitement réglé par lad. ordonnance du 10 avril 1750, et que les Canoniers seront payés savoir 31 à raison de 18^l par mois, et 31 à raison de 15^l; sera au surplus lad. ordonnance exécutée suivant sa forme et teneur. Mande S. M. au S^r De Vaudreuil Gouverneur Gen. et Bigot Intendant de la Nouvelle France de tenir chacun en droit soi la main à l'exécution de la présente ordonnance laquelle sera enregistrée au bureau de la marine à Québec, fait à Versailles le 14 mars 1756.

Ordonnance pour une augmentation de soldats.—(Archives des Colonies. Série B., Vol. 105, pp. 44-45)

DE PAR LE ROY

A Villes le 15 mars 1757.

Sa M^{te} estimant nécessaire d'augmenter les troupes du détachement de la Marine qu'Elle entretient en Canada, Elle auroit donné ses ordres pour la levée et l'envoy des recrues nécessaires pour lad. augmentation. Et après s'être fait représenter son ordonnance du 10 avril 1750 par laquelle Elle auroit fixé led. détachement à 30 Compagnies composées de 50 hommes chacune non compris les officiers, et son autre ordonnance du 14 mars 1756 par laquelle Elle auroit porté chacune desd. Comp^{ies} à 65 hommes chacune, non compris aussi les officiers, Elle a ordonné et ordonne ce qui suit.

Art. 1^{er}

Il sera entretenu dans la Colonie du Canada 40 Comp^{ies} de 65 hommes chacune, non compris les officiers, Sçavoir de 3 sergents, 4 Caporaux, un cadet à l'Aiguillette, un Cadet soldat, 2 tambours et 54 soldats.

2

Les dix Compagnies dont led. détachement doit être par ce moyen augmenté seront formées tant des 30 Compagnies qui composent la Garnison actuelle de la Colonie que des nouvelles levées destinées à lad. augmentation. A l'effet de quoi il sera fait une répartition des unes et des autres relative à la formation desd. 40 Compagnies, suivant les ordres particuliers qui en seront donnés par Sa M^{te} au S^c Geur et Lt Gal pour Elle en lad. Colonie.

3

Les appointements de Capitaines, L^{ts} et Enseignes qui commanderont lesd. Compagnies nouvelles, ainsi que la solde des sergents, Caporaux, Cadets, tambours et soldats d'icelles seront payés sur le même pié des anciennes Compagnies suivant les Etats qui seront annuellement expédiés pour les dépenses de la Colonie.

4

Lesd. ordonnances des 10 Avril 1750 et 14 mars 1756 seront exécutées suivant leur forme et teneur en ce qui n'y est dérogé par la présente.

Mande Sa M^{te} aux S^{rs} M^{is} de Vaudreuil Gouverneur et son Lt g^l en la N^{lle} France et Bigot Intendant aud. pais de tenir la main chacun en droit soy à l'exécution de la présente ordonnance, laquelle sera publiée partout où besoin sera et enregistrée au Bureau du Controll de la marine à Quebec.
Fait a V^{lles} le 15 mars 1757.

Ordonnance de M. de la Jonquière réglant la question du logement des troupes dans les garnisons de la Colonie, 9 septembre 1751. (Collection judiciaire de Montréal).

Le marquis de la Jonquière, commandeur de l'ordre Royal et militaire de St. Louis, chef d'escadre des armées navales, gouverneur et lieutenant général pour le Roy de toute la Nouvelle France, terres et pays de la Louisianne. Les difficultés qui se sont présentées jusques à présent au Sujet du logement des troupes de cette colonie dans Les différentes garnisons ayant donné matière à quelques contestations par les fausses applications qu'on a fait des ordonnances du Roy renfermées dans Le code militaire (Briquet), nous pour arrêter toutes ces difficultés et faciliter les opérations inéparables des dits logements et les rendre sursistable Eu Egard au service de cette Colonie avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit.

Article 1^{er}—Lorsqu'il arrivera des troupes à Montreal et aux Trois Rivières pour relever celles qui y tiennent garnison, les capitaines feront décliner le rôle des soldats de leur compagnie par nous et sur nous au lieutenant général de police lequel pourvoira dans l'instant à leur logement à la proximité de la maison de leur capitaine autant que les circonstances pourront le permettre et fera remettre au capitaine ces Billets lequel les distribueront aux soldats.

Article 2^e

Les soldats de service qui seront envoyés dans les dites deux places seront Egalement logés sitot leur arrivée et pour cet effet le major en fera remettre le rôle au lieutenant général et après que les dits soldats auront Eté incorporé les capitaines des compagnies dans les quels ils Le trouveront, luy feront remettre pareillement un nouveau rôle.

Article 3^e

Le major fera Egalement au lieutenant général de police le rôle des soldats qui, allant ou venant en détachement passeront dans leur place pour qu'il pourvoye à leurs logements.

Article 4^e

Il luy fera remettre aussi le rôle des soldats qui seront détaché de sa garnison pour qu'il soit informé que les logements qu'ils occupoient sont libres.

Article 5^e

Si dans le nombre des dits soldats ils s'en trouve qu'ils seachent quelque métier et qu'ils se soient placé pour travailler chez quelque particulier les appostilleront dans leurs Rôles afin que le lieutenant général assigne le Logement du même soldat dans la maison où ils travailleront.

Article 6^e

Le major fera remettre au lieutenant général de police un rolle général de la garnison compagnie par compagnie contenant aussi Les noms et surnoms des soldats et des habitants chez Lesquels ils seront logés. Ce rolle general doit être mis par deux raisons, la premiere pour que le Juge de police puisse sur iceluy faire la Vérification des rolles particulliers de chaque Capitaine, La seconde pour que le dit Juge soit en Etat de Remplacer les soldats qui ont la permission de leur Capitaines pour aller travailler dans La récolte par ceux qui en reviennent.

Article 7^e

Le major obligera les Capitaines à faire remettre au lieutenant général de police les noms des soldats morts, désertés, ou congédiés de leur compagnie de même que ceux des habitants chez lesquels ils Etoient logés pour qu'ils puissent remplir le logement qui se trouvera vacant par le premier soldat qui arrivera ou sera incorporé dans leur compagnie.

Article 8^e

Après que les capitaines auront distribués les Billets de logements conjointement ou séparément aux soldats de leur compagnie ils ne pourront les changer de logement pour le transplanter d'une maison à une autre, pas même sur la demande des habitants sans la participation du lieutenant de police Lequel ne s'opposera pas si le cas L'exige.

Article 9^e

Si les soldats se plaignent au major de la place ou à leur capitaine que les habitants chez lesquels ils sont logés ne leur fournissent pas leur nécessaire ainsi qu'il leur Est prescrit par les ordonnances du Roy ou si ces habitants les maltraitent, ils en feront avertir le lieutenant général de police pour qu'il punisse les dits habitants. Si les d. habitants se plaignoient au contraire que les soldats logés chez Eux les insulte ou n'ont point les Egards due à un hôte, ils pourront porter leurs plaintes qu'au major de la place ou à leur capitaine qui leur rendront la Justice qui leur sera due, mais si les habitants auroient Eté volé ou Exédé par les dits soldats, ils seront livré à Justice et leur procès fait et parfait suivant les ordonnances du Roy.

Article 10^e

A l'égard des autres cas qui pourroient subvenir et que nous ne pouvons prévoir nous ordonnons aux majors, capitaines et lieutenant généraux de police de se conformer au code militaire (Briquet).

Mandons aux gouverneurs particuliers et lieutenans de Roy de tenir la main chacun pour ce qui les concerne à l'exécution de la notre présente ordonnance et de nous rendre compte des contraventions à icelles. En foy de quoy nous l'avons signé, à icelle fait apposer le chachet de nos armes et contre signé par notre premier secrétaire. Fait à Québec, le neuf Septembre mil sept cent cinquante, on signé: lajonquiere, par monseigneur Saint Sauveur

DANRÉ DE BLANZY

LORD DORCHESTER AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

By Professor A. H. YOUNG, Trinity College, Toronto

Because of his resistance to the unwarranted aggressions of certain representatives of the Church of England, both official and unofficial, and because of his neglect of the duty enjoined upon him in regard to the Church by successive Royal Instructions, there have not been wanting persons to suppose that Sir Guy Carleton, K.C.B., Lord Dorchester, was not a member of the Church. That, however, was far from being the case, as is proved by an entry in the journal of the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, Dr. Charles Inglis. (*Public Archives of Canada*, M., p. 159.)

"On Friday," wrote the Bishop, "I held a Confirmation, at which two of Lord Dorchester's sons were confirmed. On Sunday, I administered the Communion, [at] which his Lordship, Lady Dorchester and those two sons, received the Sacrament."

In 1766, the year of the commencement of his term of office as Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Guy's troubles with the clerics began. On June 17 the Revd. John Brook, military chaplain at Quebec, who, in the year preceding, had been appointed also to be Deputy Auditor of the Provincial Revenues, had the presumption to present to the Executive Council of the province a petition "claiming the Bishop's Palace and the Bishop's Lands for the Bishop of London and requesting a grant of the same to himself and his successors." (*Leg. Coun. Book B.*, p. 184.)

At a still earlier date, shortly after the capitulation of Montreal, the Revd. John Ogilvie, of Albany, who had accompanied Sir Jeffrey Amherst's army as chaplain to the Royal American Regiment, and who, in the next four years, built up in the city a considerable congregation of merchants and military men, had given to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts more or less detailed information about the estates of the Récollets, the Jesuits, and the Sulpicians. These, he thought, would form an excellent endowment for the Church of England. (*S.P.G. Original Letters and Journals.*)

This suggestion, apparently, was duly passed on to His Majesty's confidential servants, by whom it was seriously considered. (*Public Archives of Canada, Shelburne MSS., Vol. 59*, p. 48). Happily, however, it seems to have been rejected; but, in spite of that fact, the claim already mentioned was put forward.

In the same year, 1766, arrived from England, with mandamuses to be given patents as rectors respectively of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, Messrs de Montmollin, Veyssière, and de Lisle. They expected, of course, to receive under their patents the lands, tythes, and powers which had belonged to the French rectors before 1759. The Lieutenant-Governor instituted them, however, with a salary of £200 only, informing the authorities at home that he had issued to them patents under which they would be able to do the least possible harm.

These French-speaking rectors were sent out as the result of a recommendation made to Government and to the S.P.G. by General Murray, the Governor in Chief. (*Q. 49*, pp. 343-348). He alleged, though on what grounds it is difficult to say, that there was a large number of French Protestants who would benefit from the ministrations of clergymen who spoke their own language, adding that, probably, the Roman Catholic inhabitants would by these means be induced to change their ecclesiastical allegiance.

If such hopes were to be realized, some better instruments were necessary than a "reformed Jesuit" and a former Récollet, which de Montmollin and Veyssière were said to be. By only one writer is the latter favourably mentioned—the man who wrote the paragraph in the *Quebec Gazette* announcing his conversion, a somewhat sudden affair, managed, it was stated, by the Revd. John Brook. De Montmollin appears generally in a much better light as a rule, but, according to a certain Mr. Morgan who, in 1786, handed in a report on the state of the Church in Canada, he was keeping "a little dirty dram shop, and himself so scandalously indecent, as to measure out and sell rum to the soldiers of the garrison." (*Q. 26*, p. 59).

This state of things, notwithstanding the lack of French hearers, the increase of the English population, and the Royal Instructions, the Governor allowed to continue for twenty-three years, less the eight which

intervened between his first and his second tenure of the Governorship-in-Chief. The pertinent section of the Instructions reads:—"And if any Person hereafter preferred to a Benefice shall appear to you to give Scandal, either by his Doctrine or Manners, you are to use the best Means for his Removal." The situation was changed only in 1789, when the Bishop of Nova Scotia held his first, and only, visitation in Quebec.

That visitation was attended by all the Anglican clergymen of the province excepting a Mr. Bryan, whom Lord Dorchester had stationed at Cornwall, with an annual allowance from Government of £50. So little did he concern himself with doing his duty in the matter of seeing that this gentleman had "a certificate from the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, of his being conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and of good life and conversation," that it was left for the Revd. John Stuart to find out that he was not a clergyman at all. Stuart, having been appointed at the visitation to be Bishop's Commissary for the Upper Country, stopped at Cornwall on his way home to Kingston to inspect Bryan's Letters of Orders, which, on the face of them, were a forgery, being signed "Edward Bath."

Stuart, who was something of a diplomat, had, on the occasion of his visit to Quebec to be present at the Bishop's visitation, approached the Governor with a view to obtaining his countenance to a petition for a considerable tract of land round about the King's Mills at Kingston. This he and his Wardens and Vestry thought would make an admirable endowment for the Church which they were desirous to build in readiness against the establishment at Kingston of the capital of the new province to whose creation they were looking forward.

Just what the Governor said has not been left on record, but it assuredly was of a character to raise Stuart's hopes for a favourable reply to the petition, which, after the lapse of a year and three months, was rejected. (*Parish Register of Kingston, U.C., 1785-1811*). Neither at Kingston nor elsewhere within the limits of his government did Dorchester at any time take the trouble to obey the Royal Instructions to see that Churches were erected.

When it came to a question of exercising patronage, it was quite a different matter. Then he was ready to remember that the Royal Instructions empowered him to act, even though the Bishop might have views differing from his own. Such an occasion presented itself when a successor had to be found to the Revd. David Chadbrand de Lisle, deceased, the first Anglican rector of Montreal. The Bishop of Quebec, Dr. Jacob Mountain, desired the post for his brother, but Dorchester appointed the Revd. James Tunstall, giving as his reason that he "had been sent there about four years ago at the request of the Bishop of Nova Scotia under all the assurances that could be given here of succeeding to that Gentleman's [de Lisle's] preferments." "And his character," he continued, "is such in every respect as to induce me to recommend him to His Majesty's Approbation as Chaplain"—to the Garrison of Montreal. (*Q. 68, p. 154*). The sequel proved, unfortunately, that the gubernatorial judgment was again lacking in the quality of infallibility.

When the desirability of appointing an Anglican Bishop for each of the Canadas, or for the two conjointly, was being considered, Dorchester seems to have favoured the latter alternative. For the office he recommended the Revd. Philip Toosey, rector of Quebec, Bishop's Commissary,

or Official, for the Eastern District of Canada, and sometime tutor to his Sons, like Mgr. Bailly de Messein, Bishop of Capsa, whom, to his undoing, he procured to be coadjutor to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec.

Col. Simcoe, who wanted to have a See of Upper Canada erected, with a Bishop of its own, nominated the Revd. Samuel Peters, D.D., a "suffering Loyalist." Both he and Toosey were passed over in favour of the Revd. Jacob Mountain, a presbyter in the Diocese of Lincoln and a friend of Mr. Pitt, who promised that he should be called to the Legislative Councils of the two Provinces with the title of Lord Bishop, which up to that time had not yet been conferred upon the Bishop of Nova Scotia.

To the title, which was conferred under section VI of the Constitutional Act and which has set the fashion for that of Colonial Bishops throughout the world, Dorchester objected, as he did also to the seat on the Councils, which led, as he foresaw it would, to political complications. Writing to the Right Honble Henry Dundas on May 25, 1794, he said:—

"At the same time I must Observe it will awaken much jealousy on the part of the Canadians, that their Bishop does not receive the same Honor.

"They well know their great superiority in Numbers and are sensible of every preference; the proportion of Militia to be furnished by the British is only Seventy out of Two Thousand, and this will not escape Observation, and every Member of the Council will think himself humbled if he had not the same Honor conferred on himself." (*Q. 71, I, p. 6*).

The reply from the Duke of Portland, on August 13 following, ran thus:—

"I do not think that the Mandamus directing the Bishop of Quebec, for the time being, to be summoned to the Legislative Councils of Upper and Lower Canada, by the same style and Title, by which Bishops in England are distinguished, can contain any reasonable Ground of Jealousy.

"It will be for His Majesty's Consideration, whether a Seat in the Legislative Council of Lower Canada should not be given to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, should your Lordship recommend such a measure. But to suppose that every Member of the Legislative Council will think himself humbled, if he has not the same honor conferred upon him, would be in fact, to interfere with the authority given to His Majesty by the Canada Act, with regard to granting Titles of Honour to Members of the Legislative Council, in the exercise of which Authority in such instances of peculiar service to His Majesty's Government, as may be worthy of being represented to His Majesty, your Lordship will be sensible that His Majesty must, and ought to remain the sole Judge." (*Q. 68, p. 132*.)

An undeserved snub this was for a man who, notwithstanding his frankly expressed desire to be allowed to use his own discretion in ecclesiastical affairs, had made the suggestion that the Roman Catholics should receive as a matter of the King's own grace an honour for their Bishop, which, sooner or later, might have to be conceded in response to demands for it.

Through some neglect in England, Dr. Mountain's Mandamus was not received in Quebec till many months after his own arrival. When at length he did take his seat in Council and assume his title of Lord Bishop, he proceeded to clamour for the payment of tythes, the establishment of rectories, the right of presentation to them, the building of Churches, and the power of issuing marriage licenses, some of which were contemplated by the Constitutional Act and some specifically reserved to the Governor. In none of his endeavours did he receive the slightest countenance from Lord Dorchester, or, for that matter, from succeeding Governors down to the end of his episcopate and of his life, in 1825. Yet the demand mentioned was entirely proper, especially in view of the fact that, in Que-

bec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, Anglicans were still compelled to trespass upon the rights and to wound the sensibilities of the Roman Catholics so far as Churches in which to hold their services were concerned.

Dr. Mountain's attitude toward the Church of Scotland and the Clergy Reserves, provided for in the Constitutional Act, it was that laid the foundation of the infamous quarrel over the Reserves, which for sixty years or so embittered the feeling of thousands on both sides of the dispute. One may be permitted to wonder what effect upon the ultimate settlement may have been produced by the precedent set by action which Lord Dorchester took, after consulting with the Colonial Secretary.

Wishing to allow a Government stipend to the ministers of the Church of Scotland in Quebec and Montreal, to begin with, he asked for permission to do so. Permission, he was told, was not necessary, this being a matter which lay entirely within his own discretion, provided that stipends were asked for. "For your Lordship will recollect," Dundas went on, "in framing the Canada Act, that the reservation for the Church & the Crown in all Grants of Land, was fixed at a larger proportion than was originally intended, with a view to enable the King to make from those Reservations, such an allowance to Presbyterian Ministers, Teachers and Schools, as His Majesty should from time to time, think proper." (*Q. 67, pp. 49 and 73*).

How much better it would have been if the intention of the framers of the Act had been expressly stated in it, or, better still, perhaps, if, in accordance with the prayer of the petition forwarded by Dorchester to Lord Sydney in behalf of Sir John Johnson and others representing the new Loyalist settlers on the upper St. Lawrence, in 1787, the Church of Scotland had been formally established alongside of the Church of England! (*Q. 27, 2, p. 989*).

In intimating the outcome of this application in regard to salaries for the Scottish ministers, Lord Dorchester was quite frank with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He had been equally frank in 1787 in regard to the allowance to the Revd. John Bethune, formerly of Montreal but then of Williamstown and Cornwall, a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, who had served throughout the war of 1776-1782 as chaplain to the 84th, Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment. Nor, so far as records examined show, was any objection urged at the time.

In 1789 the question of establishing a university for Canada was being discussed. Taking advantage of the presence of the Bishop of Nova Scotia in Quebec for the purpose of visiting his clergy belonging to the Province, Lord Dorchester appears to have asked him to get resolutions in favour of his plan passed and sent to him. This was done, though it is probable that both Bishop and clergy would have preferred an institution such as King's College, Windsor, which had been established by the Bishop the year before, to the secularist university contemplated by the Governor in Council. As they could not set up at once the Divinity School, which it was thought each of the three Communion ought to set up independently for the training of its own clergy, they would have either to train prospective ordinands themselves or to send them to Nova Scotia or to England. Thus again Lord Dorchester failed the Church of England, notwithstanding his Instructions, in a matter vital to her wellbeing, albeit he could not very well find the necessary money when so many demands were being made upon the Treasury at home.

From the incidents cited it is clear that the Church of England has no reason to look back to the administrations of Lord Dorchester as to

a time at which her interests were promoted or even regarded up to the limit of the Royal Instructions. For the period before the advent of the Loyalists there is some excuse, inasmuch as he was rightly unwilling to forward the establishment of a "Protestant" State Church for a very small minority of the inhabitants, especially at the expense of another Communion and in opposition to the religious sentiments of a majority suffering at almost every point from the arrogance of not a few of the newcomers. After the arrival of the Loyalists, however, the case was different, even if by no means all of them were Anglicans. Then, the relations between Church and State being what they were, he ought to have obeyed his Instructions at least to the extent of seeing to it that Churches, sufficient salaries, and clergymen of blameless life were provided. Tythes, rectories, rights of presentation, and the like, which, unfortunately, appeared to the first Anglican Bishop of Quebec to be of prime importance, could well afford to wait to be settled by later generations.

THE COMING OF THE BARR COLONISTS

(The "All-British" Colony that became Lloydminster)

APPENDIX: *The Diary of a Barr Colonist describing the Journey and the Settlement.*

By REV. EDMUND H. OLIVER, Ph.D., F.R.S.C., Principal, St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon, Sask.

The founding of no settlement in the Northwest Territories ever attracted greater attention than did the "All-British Colony" that in the spring of 1903 located in the Saskatchewan Valley. The projected name for the settlement was "Britannia Colony". But that designation never gained permanent acceptance. At the time the newcomers were generally called "The Barr Colonists" after the promoter of the enterprise, Rev. I. M. Barr. It was the Chaplain, Rev. George Exton Lloyd, now Bishop of Saskatchewan, rather than the Leader of the Colony, who ultimately gave his name to the settlement—Lloydminster.

In the literature that he issued for the promotion of the enterprise Rev. I. M. Barr, formerly a curate at St. Saviour's Church, Hanley Road, Tollington Park, London, N., styled himself as founder and proprietor. He claimed to have had experience in Western Canada as early as 1874. It is alleged that he was concerned with a doubtful colonization scheme in the vicinity of Yorkton. This in itself may not have been greatly to his discredit for in the eighties many colonization companies failed in the territories. In not a few instances the lack of success was due to ignorance of western conditions and inadequate capital for development.

Mr. Barr was himself a Canadian. Born in Halton County, Ontario, he was, it was claimed, the son of a Church of Scotland minister. On completing his education he entered the Church of England. After ordination he had charge of parishes in Ontario at Exeter, Pt. Edward, and Woodstock. For some years he served as a missionary to the Indians of the Tuscarora Reserve. At the conclusion of the Boer War he was curate at St. Saviour's Church. The unsatisfactory labour conditions of post-war England were turning young men, and among them members of Barr's congregation, to study the opportunities offered by the Colonies.

Barr sought to exploit this interest by forming a colonization enterprise for his native land. To further his plans he visited Canada in the autumn of 1902 and interviewed the Deputy Minister of the Interior, the Commissioner of Immigration for the Northwest, and Third Vice-President of the Canadian Northern Railway, and other prominent Canadians. He succeeded in securing the reservation of some sixteen townships lying north of township 48 and extending to the North Saskatchewan river and east of the 4th principal meridian. These townships lay along the projected line of the Canadian Northern Railway. The homesteads in these townships were to be reserved for entry to Barr's colonists till June 1, 1903. The colonists were, further, entrusted by the Canadian Pacific Railway with the sale of their lands, that is, the usual odd numbered sections in the reserve.

On his return to England Barr issued glowing accounts of the West and of his colonizing undertaking "under the sanction of the Canadian Government". Prospects of work were held out and assurances given that the Canadian Northern Railway would "traverse our settlement and be ready to haul out the harvest of 1903". A scheme of hospital insurance was outlined. Barr, also, was the author of a pamphlet entitled 'British Settlements in Manitoba and the Territories'.

Barr's scheme for inducing English settlers to come to Canada was supported by letters to the English papers by Rev. George E. Lloyd. Rev. Mr. Lloyd was a graduate of Wycliffe College, Toronto. He had enlisted for service at the time of the Half-Breed Uprising of 1885. He had been wounded at Cut Knife Hill in the same valley of the Saskatchewan to which Barr was now inviting colonists. At this time Rev. Mr. Lloyd was Organizing Secretary of the Colonial and Continental Church Society. This society guaranteed him a salary of at least \$1,250 a year for five years to minister to the spiritual needs of the colonists.

The point of departure from the railway was to be Saskatoon. In a pamphlet issued at Christmas, 1902, Barr stated, "At Saskatoon there will be provided horses, wagons, harness and provisions for the journey, also coverings for the wagons, camp stools and other necessary things. Here the party will use their tents for a few days while getting outfitted for trekking to the settlement. . . . I have arranged to have covered light wagons to come from Battleford to Saskatoon on my arrival to convey the women and children rapidly through to Battleford, where they will be housed and cared for until the men of the party shall reach the settlement, when they may be brought forward. . . . It is not as a clergyman, although I happen to be one, that I am promoting emigration to my native land, but simply as a man who wishes to see Canada remain British". It had been well both for Barr and other members of the enterprise had another clause in his manifesto been followed to the letter: "Every man will handle his own money".

Further, Barr's suggestions were, in the main, wise: "Families should possess £100 as a rule, especially when there are several children; this over and above the travelling expenses. Young unmarried men may venture with but little over travelling expenses, as there will be plenty of work in the country at good wages". "It is my intention," he wrote, "to introduce a few experienced Canadian and American farmers into the settlement, whose farms may prove object lessons to the less experienced of our British settlers. I am already in touch with a number who wish to join our ranks. This part of the scheme has met with much

favour from the deputy minister of the Interior to whom I submitted it. These farmers, however, will be of British descent." In this connection should be mentioned the selection by the Dominion Government of Mr. A. A. M. Dale, of South Qu'Appelle, as farm instructor for the colony. Barr also organized for his colony the British Canadian Settlements Stores Syndicate, shares in which he sold at £1.

Barr concluded his pamphlet with a challenging appeal:—

"I do not desire to present a picture that is highly rose-coloured. There are many difficulties and drawbacks to be encountered, but for the brave man obstacles are something to be overcome, stepping-stones to victory and success. Britons have always been the great colonizers. Let it not be said that we are the degenerate sons of brave and masterful sires.

"Let me say in brief that you cannot pick up nuggets of gold on the surface of the soil—you must dig for the wealth of the land. Hard work and plenty of it, lies before you; more or less of hardship, and, not seldom, privations. You must sometimes sweat, and sometimes you may suffer from the cold. You shall not always find everything to your hand. Many of the comforts of England you must leave behind. Some years the crop may not be a perfect success, may even prove a failure. It may even be that hail may sometimes strike your crop and destroy part of it. Sickness may come to you there as here, and also losses. Don't expect to be rich in a day. It is not possible anywhere except for a few fortunate ones. If you are afraid, stay at home—don't come to Canada. It is a land of brave and conquering men. But if you are honest and brave, and intend to work hard, if you purpose to lead the temperate and strenuous life, then come and cast in your lot with us, and we will stand together and win".

For two hours before midnight of March 30, 1903, the departure platforms at Euston station, London, England were packed. The starting notices read,—“Emigrants, Liverpool”. Signs were in evidence,—“Platforms 12, 13 and 14. Rev. I. M. Barr's special trains to Liverpool for s.s. *Lake Manitoba*”. An English despatch of the time thus describes the scene:—

"They were no common emigrants, these. All of them were of a fairly well-to-do appearance. Many carriages contained whole family parties of father, mother, and children, some of the latter hardly more than babes in arms. But young men, in the prime of youth, formed the larger proportion. For three hours before the hour of departure last night they came pouring into the station-yard with their goods and chattels and a host of friends to bid them farewell. Animated and apparently in the best of spirits, the crowd pushed along to where the three special Liverpool boat trains stood waiting. They planted their baggage, plastered with the bright-colored Beaver Line labels, on seats of vantage in the compartments, and then turned to chat with their friends. Long before midnight these latter formed with the colonists themselves a crowd of between 4,000 and 5,000 persons. The scene was in every way a remarkable one. Although the crowd was chiefly in hilarious good spirits, occasionally, like an April sky, it was under a spell of gloom. But a party of new arrivals would come to the station with a burst of cheering which was taken up along the whole line to the banishment of any signs of depression. Many busied themselves scanning their fellow passengers and drawing hasty conclusions. A young man, who, waiting for the departure, walked backwards and forwards alone, had the unmistakable appearance of one who had seen better days. Some of the men among the future colonists had no one to see them off and these sat stoically smoking their pipes. A few concertina players enlivened the passing minutes as the hands of the clock crept towards midnight, at which hour the specials were due to depart. With spirited voice the crowd sang, 'Auld Lang Syne,' 'The Old Folks at Home,' and the latest popular and appropriate ditty, 'We've made up our minds to sail away.' There

were emotional scenes when the strident voices of the porters shouted, 'Take your seats,' and the last parting embrace was given, and men held the last clasp of each other's hands. In quick succession each train moved slowly out of the station, amidst a tremendous outburst of cheering and a wild waving of hats and handkerchiefs. Then the crowd drifted silently homewards. Women held handkerchiefs in their hands, and here and there, an aged mother passed out leaning heavily on her husband's arm."

Some 2,300 colonists boarded the ss. *Lake Manitoba* on March 31, 1903, in what was little less than a scramble. The tonnage and capacity of the steamer would have been inadequate had the number of passengers been only half what it was. Other parties of colonists sailed by other steamers, notably the ss. *Megantic* and ss. *Lake Simcoe*. Nearly every county in England was represented among these colonists. About one hundred came from Ireland and Scotland each. London contributed a large number. "It is a mistake", declared Dr. Robbins to the *Manitoba Free Press*, "to confound these hard-working colonists with the sons of rich men reared in the lap of luxury, who had failed in the past in Canada. A good proportion are agriculturists, other are mechanics, and all come out ready and expecting to work. There are a number of sons of clergymen but these young men have been hardened by cricket and football in the public schools for a life of outdoor labour".

The destination of the ship was St. John, N.B. Alterations were made in the steamer to merge the first and second classes. General intercourse was permitted between all passengers to enable them to gain information from each other about the method of work to be employed on the opening up of the settlement. The fare to St. John was, for cabin £8, for steerage £5. 10. The railway fare to Saskatoon was \$25.75.

In the meantime the citizens of the territories and particularly of Saskatoon, then a village, had been apprised of the coming of the Barr colonists. The Saskatoon *Phoenix*, as the name of that paper was then spelled, carried an editorial on January 9, 1903: "It is especially important that this class of settlers be well looked after. Coming as they do from a country of high cultivation they are not so well adapted for the roughing of pioneer life which they have never seen before and do not understand". Writing under date of January 23, 1903, from Kirkkunzeon, Scotland, Thomas Copland of the Temperance Colonization Society warned the people of Saskatoon to expect at least 2,000 persons in the party. "It behooves Saskatoon to bestir itself and see that such a large and sudden influx of people is not only welcomed (that would be a sure thing in any event) but that provisions is made for them. Shelter will be wanted most of all, but the Immigration Department should see to that, except where parties want hotel or house accommodation. Bread and provisions will also be in order, and where the means of conveying so large a party to their destination are to come from will be a puzzle requiring solution".

On March 22 George Douglas, C. Lucas, F.C. Belson, and J. H. Tanner arrived in Saskatoon as an advance party for the Barr colonists. They made arrangements to send in a large stock of provisions and staple goods, and to erect a store. They intimated that a large supply of tents would be forwarded to be set up at Saskatoon and other points. Mr. A. A. M. Dale, Farm Instructor for the colony, arrived in Saskatoon on April 14.

The first group of Barr colonists to reach Saskatoon arrived on April 8, 1903. They had sailed by the *Megantic*. Tents were pitched on Spadina Crescent for their accommodation. "A better impression has not been

created by any of the many batches of immigrants who have arrived at this point," said the Saskatoon *Phoenix*, April 10, 1903. The main body arrived the following week—three contingents on April 17 and the fourth on April 18. No serious mishap had occurred on the way except that one man had had his leg cut off through jumping off the train at a station in Ontario. An account of the coming of the colonists is given in the Saskatoon *Phoenix*, April 24, 1903: "At 11 a.m. the toot of the double headers was heard and immediately from all sides there was a wild rush for the Canadian Pacific depot.¹ The platforms had been roped in, and no one was allowed to pass, so box cars and other points of vantage were quickly taken possession of. After the usual delay at the bridge (uncoupling the extra engine) the train pulled in with a few extra toots and a good hearty cheer from the Saskatoonites. The train consisted of 14 coaches and one box car and had 510 of the party on board. After a very short delay they commenced to leave the cars, and, without waiting to use the regular exit, they shot their baggage through the windows and in a great many cases the owners came the same way." Then Rev. John Robbins gave the order to line up in front of the platform. Mr. C. W. Speers, Immigration Agent, extended to them a cordial welcome on behalf of the people of the country and the Government. He reminded them that there would be difficulties to face, but they belonged to a race whose sons never turned back in the face of trouble. Land guides and agents would be provided. The land to which they were going was one really flowing with milk and honey. It only required their strong arms to cultivate it and bring it to perfection. Hearty applause followed with three cheers for the King, for the Dominion Government, for Mr. Speers and Mr. Barr. The single men were given the bell tents for their accommodation. The larger tents were assigned to families. "Then a long stream of men, women and children could be seen wending their way over the prairies, all carrying some necessary article,—kettles, frying pans, rugs or umbrellas—but only one cane was in evidence. Babies were plentiful, including the little Canadian girl born on the train near Ottawa. Things were soon shipshape, and when the mill whistle sounded noon most of the party were eating their dinners. The kettles were soon filled with good clean ice, the immense blocks with which the river is still filled being a source of wonder and admiration. One could see there was a strange military element about. The quick way holes were dug and fires started in such a manner that there was no waste and every scrap of heat did its duty showed beyond a doubt that the hands that built them had done the same thing on the South African Veldt, or in other lands where Britain's soldiers had been called upon to uphold the honour of the old flag." The name given to their temporary Saskatoon home was Canvas Town, "Yes, it's deuced like Aldershot," said an ex-soldier among the colonists.

The axe was plainly a new tool to some of the immigrants. One man stood in a tub to prevent injury to his feet while cutting. It was solemnly recorded in the local Saskatoon press that in one case two were "busy working a bucksaw as if it were a regular cross-cut."

Some of the second contingent left the train at Winnipeg and other points. As a consequence the second and third contingents arrived on one train about 6 o'clock on April 17. This train "carried 410 souls in eleven coaches; also one car of dogs." This party received the same welcome and gave the same cheers, as the first contingent. They remained on board the train till the following morning.

¹ Where the C.N.R. depot now stands.

The fourth and last contingent arrived at 6 a.m. on Saturday, April 18. Twelve coaches brought 517 persons. There were also two cars of effects. On this train arrived the chaplain, Rev. G. E. Lloyd. Barr arrived in the evening of the same day.

"All are well conducted," reported the *Phoenix* in the following week, "and the police have had little or no trouble. There have been some amusing scenes and the ravine between the two camps has caused some awkward falls. Then the ox-driving ability of some of the proud owners has caused much merriment. It is said that one young Englishman, with a rather tender heart, hit one of his team in the eye, whereupon he immediately begged the animal's pardon, and said he did not mean to do it. There were, of course, lots of folks willing to give the drivers instructions, some misleading; but the Englishman is, if anything, very cautious, and, with the assistance of the South African veterans, will soon master the difficulty. That there are quite a few sportsmen in the camp can be easily seen by the constant shooting at targets, and early one morning a couple of enterprising ones were seen returning from the Nutana side of the river with three pairs of jack rabbits."

"Quite a fancy price has been paid for some horses and several excellent teams have been purchased by the immigrants, but the majority claim that horses in Canada are too high." This admission on the part of a Saskatoon paper has reference to the sudden rise in price of commodities in Saskatoon. During the few days the colonists were encamped at that place to wait for baggage and to secure their outfits, prices soared to enormous heights. One Saskatoon firm alone sold 500 stoves to the colonists. Rich harvests at enhanced prices were reaped by the merchants and dealers of Saskatoon. There was a temporary store set up in a tent for the colony itself—The Saskatchewan Valley Emporium. "There should be," declared the *Phoenix*, "some one whose duty it would be to see that these people are protected from sharks. There are men who are so intently bent on making money that they do not hesitate to ask \$225 for oxen that they know are worth only \$150 and horses are sold to these people by outsiders at prices the sellers would not have dared for shame's sake to have asked an old settler to pay. If these people will take things quietly, not get in too big a hurry, follow the advice of those acting on behalf of the Government, and not expect too much all at once, they will come out all right. There are great difficulties before the colony; the transportation of nearly 2,000 people by teams over 160 miles of country is no easy task, but once the people get settled and get to work and begin to have some returns for their labour they will forget all about the trials and hardships, and those who stay with it will one day bless God that they ever came to Canada. There are abundant resources in our soil which, when developed, will give a far better living to the faithful toiler than he ever enjoyed in the old country. All that is necessary is grace, grit and gumption."

The Barr colonists created a splendid impression. The general verdict, as expressed at the time, was: "Taken all through, the Barr colonists are the very best, and will be a credit to the Old Land, as well as to Canada and are just the sort of settlers needed to develop the great Canadian Northwest."

The camp fires by the river resounded with songs. The women were pronounced to be "neat, bright and cheerful, and yet not afraid of work." The children were "all remarkably intelligent and in perfect health." The city children among them could be noticed by the great interest they took

in what they called the "moo cows." The men were all hardy fellows who, "if they have not done hard and heavy work, have yet plenty of muscle, the result of gymnasium, exercise, etc. They have mechanics of all classes among them and soldiers who are used to roughing it, and at least one man-of-warsman."

Divine service was held on Sunday, April 19, in a large tent. "The singing, led by a pianette, violins, etc., was hearty and good." Ven. Arch-deacon McKay, the veteran missionary to the Indians, preached and took for his texts the words, "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." He declared that not only were they going to make the land blossom like a rose, but they were going to build churches, schools and missions,—all to the glory of their Heavenly Father. At 3 p.m. there was a children's service. In the evening Rev. Mr. Lloyd dealt with Moses and the journey of the Israelites. His text was, "Then gather the people together,"¹ He told them they were now within sight of their "promised land." He discussed the prospects of building a new church. Already he had about £280 subscribed by friends in the Old Land. When the time came he intended to call a bee of all hands and put up buildings in which they could gather together. One of the hymns chosen was, "Through the night of doubt and sorrow, onward goes the pilgrim band." The *Phoenix* records, "Many women, and men also, were weeping, doubtless thinking of the old ivy-covered churches in the Old Land and the dear ones left behind."

After a few days' delay the trek began to the colony. A well-equipped field hospital with three cots went in advance. The larger hospital was to follow in the rear with two doctors, a matron and two nurses. Battleford was the first important objective. Most of the party took the greater part of a week to cover the distance. They stopped at the Government tents which were set up en route, or selected their own location and pitched camp as night fell. Swampy ground impeded them in the first portion of their journey. More than one party was stuck and obliged to unload at least three times in the first day. Some half dozen of the colonists had insisted on taking their pianos as they were heirlooms or gifts, and these caused endless trouble. Those who had purchased oxen found them difficult to manage. In many cases their harness was badly fitted. There were instances where waggons were overturned and the occupants pitched into the streams. The death of a horse proved serious to owners who had not many dollars to spare. Some colonists, getting provoked at their slow-paced oxen, purchased horses from the Russian settlement. But there were diversions of a more pleasant character. The sportsmen were successful in securing ducks, prairie chicken and other game. The Doukhobours showed a fine open-handed, if completely vegetarian, hospitality. "The neatness and comfort of their log and plaster houses caused much favourable comment, and many of the travellers were careful to note the way in which buildings in course of construction were being put together." The marquees and stoves provided by the Government along the route were highly appreciated but they were found to be too far apart from each other. Only those with specially good teams found it possible to camp each succeeding night at the spots chosen by the representatives of the government. Many took the opportunity of making bread and baking it

¹ This sermon in part Rev. Mr. Lloyd, then Principal Lloyd, repeated in September, 1909, at the opening of Emmanuel College in Saskatoon and the founding of the University of Saskatchewan.

at the stoves. Those who brought no flour and had not provided sufficient bread at the start were obliged to obtain it either from their friends or, at what were considered ruinous prices, from some of the homesteads along the way.

The difficulties of descent and ascent of Eagle and Beaver creeks taxed their ingenuity and patience.

Some expressed disappointment at the appearance of Battleford, which they expected to find a second Winnipeg. The last few miles of hilly road before that town was reached proved especially trying. The halt of two days, however, restored their spirits, for nothing could daunt them long.

The journey from Battleford to the "Promised Land" required all the courage of the colonists. The road was terribly rough and the weather bitter. Had it not been for the Government tents many must have died from cold and hunger. Such, at any rate, was the report they sent back home. Some were on the point of collapse when the settlement was ultimately reached.

In the meantime what of Barr himself? He had come into much disfavour on the voyage through his failure to provide lectures on Canada. There is little doubt that the enterprise had proved too great for his capacities. He had started with the idea of directing some twenty or thirty families of emigrating members of his own congregation to go to Canada. The scope of the movement had unexpectedly widened till more than two thousand had sailed. Barr began to show signs of incompetence and even of knavery. Many of the party, afraid to encounter the possible losses and unknown dangers of a prairie journey of two hundred miles, entrusted their money to his keeping and failed to receive from him any acknowledgement or a receipt for their deposits. Barr, who had himself purchased supplies in large quantities, conspired to increase the prices of such necessities as oats. The newspapers began to discuss the gains he would reap from the enterprise,—
"The Rev. Mr. Barr will make enormous profit out of his all-British community idea. Besides the \$5 per capita from the Government he gets \$7 per head from the steamship companies and a commission on supplies. The diary of a highly respected Irish resident of Lloydminster has the following item under date of May 14, 1903: Mr. Barr is a 'nasty' man. Can we live at his prices? Oats \$5 a sack; flour \$7 a sack; potatoes \$7 a sack; sugar 15 cents a pound; butter 45 cents a pound."

There was a gathering storm of indignation. The feeling against Barr assumed a serious aspect. There was the famous "democrat" departure of Barr by night. A meeting of the colonists was hurriedly called one Saturday afternoon in May. By unanimous resolution Barr was deposed from the leadership and Rev. Mr. Lloyd and a committee appointed to act in his place. Representatives armed with powers of attorney were sent to prevent the withdrawal of deposits in Battleford banks. Barr at first positively declined to step aside or to open the books for inspection. He, however, changed his mind and handed in his resignation in writing. There is a tradition that Barr narrowly escaped being hanged. Barr himself told a newspaper correspondent that he had been warned that it was not safe for him to return to the Colony and that his life was in danger. The Battle River bridge was for a time patrolled by colonists to prevent his escape. Barr himself claimed that the principal cause of the troubles and dissatisfaction was the large number of the colonists who had arrived without sufficient capital.

The diary quoted above contains the following memorandum: "Messrs. Lloyd, Still and Jones arrive in special buggy from Battleford at 10 o'clock with great news about the colony and Mr. Barr who is said to be gone home."

No words perhaps could describe the flight of the reverend gentleman with finer sarcasm than those quoted,—'said to be gone home'. The *Saskatoon Phoenix* of May 29, 1903, contains the following editorial note: "Mr. Barr has 'resigned' and 'my people' can now sing with heart and voice 'Britons never shall be slaves'."

Early in July Barr left Saskatoon for Winnipeg. At Regina some Englishmen threw rotten eggs at him. Barr himself was missed, but the porter on the train received one in the eye.

There were difficulties enough in the early days of the settlement. The old survey was nearly obliterated and slow progress was made in the work of locating the Colony. A bad prairie fire swept over, burning some outfits. The high prices which the colonists attributed to the Barr store continued after the departure of Barr and till the coming of the railway. The frosts menaced their crops. Building material proved scarce and expensive in spite of Barr's plans to have lumber and all house and building supplies brought by rafts from Edmonton to Fort Pitt.

We have seen that at the request of the colonists Rev. G. E. Lloyd came to the assistance of the colony. A well-earned tribute to his services was paid in the name they gave their town—Lloydminster. He encouraged and cheered them during their months of privation, pioneering and adaptation. By November the majority had erected comfortable houses, but some were still in tents. There was a lack of an adequate fuel supply. The one article they could use was poplar and there was not enough of that.

It is interesting to compare the leaders' estimate of the work of Barr. Dr. Robbins compared Barr's plan for a colony to that of William Penn in Pennsylvania. In August, 1903, Barr himself went to Ottawa to press his claims for a bonus for bringing over the settlers. He admitted frankly that he would not repeat the experiment, but would rather see the immigrants settle among the Canadians and adopt their ways. Speaking of the financial aspect of the enterprise, he said:—

"My commissions on the steamship tickets were all I got, and they amounted to \$13,000. I charged no direct fee to the colonists although I might have done so. Of the amount I received over \$8,000 was spent in my London office in clerk hire, postage and printing, rent and other expenses, and incidental and unforeseen expenses have more than used up the \$5,000 left. I was not in this work out of feelings of pure philanthropy, and would think it would only be fair that I should have my services appreciated."

By September Rev. G. E. Lloyd was in the East to interview officials of the Canadian Pacific Railway regarding the possibility of bringing out another colony of British immigrants the following year. Of the Barr colony he said: "The colonists are now well satisfied, as they would have been at first had it not been for Mr. Barr's inordinate greed. He wanted to make a dollar out of everything he sold them. I can give you an instance. When we arrived Mr. Barr bought up all the oats off 14 farms, in fact, the whole oat supply. For these oats he paid 40 cents a bushel although 23½ cents was the average price in the market. When he bought them he sold them to his own people at \$1 a bushel. Flour he sold at \$6.25 for a sack of 88 pounds. Everything else was the same, and the result was a mutiny. The colonists refused to have anything further

to do with Mr. Barr and he returned East, after getting only as far as Battleford. He was never in the colony at all. Well, after he left we got things in something like order, and the colonists became more satisfied. We started our little settlement which the immigrants have been kind enough to call Lloydminster, and now we have taken up 600 homesteads, and have 1,000 people in the colony. The trouble of the Barr party was not the fault of Canada or the Government, but was directly due to Mr. Barr."

"Nothing," said Dr. Amos, "came of Mr. Barr's medical scheme. Members presented their subscription cards, but the hospital and nurses proved as theoretical as my salary. Of course, we helped one another, and monetary considerations scarcely existed. My work was constant and pretty monotonous—every day I was stitching up axe wounds! You see in those days the men were strangers to that most useful tool".

The chief defect in the "All-British" colony consisted in its primary characteristic—it was "All-British". Barr had promised an admixture of other settlers acquainted with Territorial conditions. He himself believed that it would have been better "to settle among the Canadians and adopt their ways".

The colony was too isolated. Plenty of good land could have been secured without going 150 miles from Saskatoon. But the colony was on the route of the Canadian Northern Railway and it was expected that the isolation would be only temporary. And the further advantage was anticipated that the settlers would secure work at good wages in the construction of the railway. And further, as Dr. Robbins told the *Toronto Globe* on May 9, 1903: "This was not thought to be an insuperable hardship when it was remembered that the early settlers of Ontario who came from the Old Country and found themselves in the Queen's Bush on the Huron Tract surrounded by forests without hope of a railway at least for a generation."

Undoubtedly there was a complete demoralization of arrangements. The settlers were abruptly thrown upon their own resources to cope with problems that had never been anticipated. Many had depended too implicitly upon Barr. Individual initiative was sadly lacking. The colony manifested a perfect mania for calling meetings to discuss questions which each individual should have settled for himself. Too much trust was put in the principle of co-operation and in the debating of problems for the solution of which all were equally inexperienced and without resource.

Of the Barr colonists some 320 found work in Manitoba. Some remained at Regina, Moose Jaw, Dundurn and Saskatoon. Considerable groups settled in the Jack Fish Lake country, some at Bresaylor, others at Eagle Hills and along the route of the Canadian Northern Railway. The Department of the Interior threw open the balance of the land in the settlement for entry by others who did not belong to the colony. This wise policy operated for the welfare of the community, for many of these later arrivals possessed more experience of Canadian conditions and their coming was of distinct benefit to those who had located earlier. With the coming of the railway came prosperity and an end to the chief hardships of isolation and pioneering. When the first locomotive came within sight of Lloydminster the Barr colonists "sang and wept for joy".

The "All-British" colony made a very definite contribution to the Canadian West. The notoriety which its affairs gained in England proved the best advertisement the Northwest Territories ever received. To its

association with the Barr colonists Saskatoon owes the impulse that enabled it to reap the full advantage of its splendid geographical situation. For Canada the most valuable contribution was the development of the country along the Canadian Northern Railway from Bresaylor to Vermilion.

For the colonists themselves, for those, at least, who persevered, there came prosperity and the establishment of homes on land that was their own. When the Great War came, from no part of the country was there a prompter or more enthusiastic response to the call to arms. This was to be expected. What, perhaps, was not to be expected, however, is that these Barr colonists have won great distinction even in the art of that very prairie agriculture of which, at their coming, they were so ignorant. Their distinction has been achieved both in grain growing and in stock raising. Lloydminster has won world's championships in oats and has produced "Wee Donald" the famous Clydesdale. One of the most famous of the farmers of the settlement was an engineer of London, a Barr colonist.

The colonists founded better than they dreamed.

APPENDIX

THE DIARY OF A BARR COLONIST DESCRIBING THE JOURNEY AND THE SETTLEMENT

The following are letters from Mr. and Mrs. William Rendell, covering the period April 11, 1903-November, 1905:—

S.S. LAKE SIMCOE,
April 11, 1903.

MY DEAR FRIENDS:

As I am quite unable to write to each individually I have decided to write a *circular* letter giving you a brief account of our adventures on the voyage out to the new country. As for the trying ordeal of wishing our dear relatives and friends farewell (many of whom assembled at Newton Station to see the last of us and give us a cheery send off) we proceeded to Liverpool, travelling most comfortably in a "reserved carriage," the children quite happy and amused at their new experience as travellers. We duly arrived at Liverpool at 5.50, where we were met by officials of the Beaver Line and directed to a boarding-house all connected with the B.L. This boarding-house is evidently built and fitted up absolutely for the use and convenience of emigrants, scrupulously clean, but the bed rooms all divided off into small cubicles. Well, there was only one night to spend there (thank goodness) but it was a grand opportunity for studying human nature, all sorts and conditions of men and women and all nationalities. At 11 on April 8th we were conducted by brake to the docks. There we were met by our cousins Mr. and Mrs. Wallace Rendell, the latter accompanying us on the tender to see us safely on board the *Lake Simcoe*. For a while all was chaos. Bewildered looking groups sitting on their baggage waiting like sheep to be allotted their pennis. However, after a somewhat severe test of our patience we found ourselves safely housed in a very comfortable 4-berth cabin and before we had settled down and unpacked we were under weigh and fast leaving the shores of old England behind. We all turned in early, feeling very tired. The children were delighted with their little "bunks" and very quickly fell sound asleep. Our ship was pretty much on the roll coming up the Irish Channel. April 9th was a fair day but several of the passengers were already succumbing to the dreaded sea sickness. We spent a pleasant day sitting on deck watching the passing steamers and the fast receding Irish shore. By the time the bugle sounded for late dinner the *vacant* seats told their own tale and the following day, April 10th, the decks greatly resembled a battle field strewn with dead and dying. I am thankful to say I still kept up my reputation as a good sailor and was able to flit about and help some of the less fortunate. But the awful ground swell was fearfully trying, far worse than a rough sea. Saturday, April 11th, was a lovely calm morning with glorious blue sky and sunshine and as the day wore on, so the disabled ones gradually resurrected and the decks were quite lively, all sorts of games going on. It was indeed a grand day, and most thoroughly we enjoyed basking in the glorious sunshine. The children were delighted running about all over the deck as happy as could be. They both (Doris and Leslie) have proved capital little sailors, Doris

especially so. On Sunday (Easter Day) there was service in the saloon conducted by a clergyman, one of the passengers on board who came originally from Exmouth. Monday proved a terribly rough day, the waves breaking right over the ship. The climate had by this time undergone a great change and was bitterly cold. The captain had to proceed very cautiously owing to fog and icebergs. Two of the latter were passed during the night and sometimes they prove very dangerous. Tuesday we were surprised to see snow on the decks and it was so slippery it was impossible to keep your footing and every one had to seek shelter in the saloons. It seemed a long day, but it was an eventful one on board, a gentleman slipped over the stairs leading to the cabin and broke his leg. There was a birth on board and a foreigner in the steerage cut his throat and is not expected to live. In addition to all this they have discovered no less than 20 stowaways. To-day, Wednesday, we expect to sight land and very thankful we shall be. We have made friends with a very nice gentleman who is going up to our settlement. I only hope we may be near neighbours. His wife and family are coming out in June. Wed. night. There is a grand concert on to-night in aid of the Sailors' Widows and Orphans, after which there is to be a display of fireworks in honour of the record voyage. I think this must end my general letter for the present as there will be too much of a rush to-morrow to be able to add any more. My next letter will probably be from Saskatoon or the Settlement. I must ask your indulgence for this disjointed account, but my little ones do not leave me much free time.

My best wishes to all.

Yours very sincerely,

ALICE RENDELL.

SASKATOON, April 22.

MY DEAR FRIENDS:

My letter this time will contain just a few startling incidents of emigrant experience. We landed at St. Johns last Wed. April 15th and were just rushed off the *Lake Simcoe* like a pack of hounds in a most disgraceful way quite late in the day. We had had the usual 12 o'clock meal and by this time the poor children were famished, all tired out with waiting to land, and they would not even give out a drop of milk for them until some of the passengers made a big disturbance and they were compelled at last to lay a meal. We were one and all faint, cold and weary. Mr. Barr and his party had landed a few days before on the *Manitoba* and the customs authorities had not been able to get clear of all the baggage and were not at all prepared to receive any more. Having made a record voyage the Beaver Line ought most certainly have kept us on board for the night but as were driven off the boat into the bitter sleet and snow with no possibility of getting on our prospective journey for hours. Well, we were landed miles from the Emigrant shed where we had to go and await the arrival of baggage owing to the proper dock being full. By way of filling up the time the women and children were safely deposited in a kind of café where they could get a concoction called *tea* but unrecognisable as far as flavor went. Presently we heard an alarm of fire and looking out of the window found the whole place black with smoke. It was not many minutes before we recognized that we were in peril and must beat a hasty retreat. The men were for the most part away hunting for baggage. For the moment I was terrified lest there might be a panic. Thank God my husband arrived on the scene and rescued us, Barnes rescuing the dog and baggage. The train was standing in the roadway and we had literally to be thrown in to escape the danger of being either scorched or stifled with the smoke. Once in safety we all felt like breaking down. It was a moment not soon to be forgotten. Well, we never got away from St. Johns until long past midnight on Thursday, owing to the dilatory way in which the luggage was discharged from the *Lake Simcoe*. It was simply scandalous. My husband could not find a single piece of all our baggage and they telephoned from the ship that everything was out of the hold, and after causing us and many others hours of anxiety and very great suffering and privation they found that any amount of baggage had been left in the hold owing to carelessness. After weary waiting my poor husband's patience was at last rewarded and our lost property duly checked and on board the train en route for Saskatoon. Well, I have heard a great deal about the travelling on the C.P.R., and being a shareholder too felt a special interest in it. I have always understood its cars and accommodation to be unequalled for *comfort* and *luxury*, but if you substitute for the two latter terms *discomfort* and *misery* you will be nearer the mark. I can only say that the 3rd class carriages on the English Railways are a king to the filthy cars we were huddled into. No sleeping accommodation and as to the lavatory arrangements they were simply a disgrace to civilization and in this misery we were boxed up to spend just one week. I do think for the sake of others it ought to be exposed.

With so many little children to be cared for it was a wonder there was not a serious outbreak of illness. Owing to the overcrowding of the carriages it was almost impossible to get at our provisions and many a time we have felt faint and famished with hunger to say nothing of starved with the cold. Our two little ones have proved themselves brave little souls facing already hunger and privations too numerous to mention. However, the most unfortunate part was I took a chill at St. Johns from exposure and a dreadful abscess formed in my face causing me terrible suffering for three days until it broke. But enough of the gloomy side. I cannot give much description of the country we passed thro. as pain has almost blinded me, but skirting some of the great lakes there were some grand bits of scenery but not a sign of life, no birds, no cattle, the vastness of it all just strikes one with awe.

Friday, April 24th. We have now been located in Saskatoon since Wed. eve. busy setting all in readiness to trek up to the Settlement. We have overtaken Mr. Barr and his party. They are all in a huge camp, but the children and I and Willie are in a *room*, just a shelter that is all. Yesterday I was greatly pleased to see my husband and our travelling companion and friend Mr. Young come in with smiling faces and say they had been successful in securing a splendid pair of horses and a wagon. These are ours as Mr. Young is not purchasing yet. The children and I went in the afternoon to see the new purchase. The horses are really beautiful animals, strong, powerful, good-looking, in fine condition and well "educated," one black and the other chestnut, a pair to be proud of. We have now horses, wagon and harness complete, the wagon has a large covered hood, so will act as house for a while. The next bit of good news is that we have had our land allotted to us and Mr. Barr has arranged that Mr. Young's homestead is within a *mile* of us. I need not say how mutually pleased we are at the prospect of being near neighbours, Mr. Young is in every respect such a perfect gentleman. He will go with us up to the Settlement. We hope to start tomorrow. Saturday,—we are only waiting now for our baggage. Sat. night,—still waiting for baggage. It does seem such a shame and all this irregularity on the world renowned C.P.R. There is absolutely *no* organization whatever. I certainly think we ought to get some compensation for all the extra expense this is causing us for it is a serious matter. We ought to have been in the Settlement by now, and of course everything here is an enormous price. Barnes has fixed up one of the camps to-day and will have the other up to-morrow, *Sunday*, when I think I shall start camping with the children as the weather is fine and dry. This morning we had a drive round in our carriage and pair much to the delight of the children. To cut a long story short we never got away from Saskatoon till Wednesday mid-day, April 29th. As to our journey up to Battleford I must condense my account as much as possible as I want to post this at Battleford where we arrived safely yesterday, Sunday, May 2nd, after 4½ days trekking through most perilous country. Some of the dykes we had to pass over were simply awful. Very few got through the journey without some serious loss of baggage or horses. I have a fair amount of courage but it has been taxed to the utmost the past few days. The children have been most plucky. The natives here think my husband and Barnes have done splendidly to have brought us thro. so well and free of all mishap. It has been bitterly cold camping out some nights, 2 deg. below freezing. Still we are alive and contemplate continuing our journey to the Settlement to-morrow. Tuesday, May 4th, another 70 miles. We have our camp stove and start and end the day with a good foundation of porridge which we all find a splendid thing to keep us warm and satisfied. This morning I rushed 1st thing to the P.O. but experienced a very bitter disappointment not *one* line from home, everyone with smiling faces eagerly devouring their home news. I must say I came away feeling very sad and lonely, as it is just a month now we left home. On our way my husband fired his first shot on Canadian soil and shot a fine duck and 3 prairie chicken, and to-day we are greatly looking forward to a nice savoury dinner, the first hot meal for many days. We cannot feel too thankful that we are all safe thus far. There have been so many mishaps and no wonder, the bogs, ravine and gullies are really fearful. Our good horses have done splendidly. We are quite enjoying a rest to-day. I am writing this in camp. The vastness of this country is wonderful and fearfully wild. I must now close my 2nd general letter written as before under great difficulties. Our thoughts are constantly wandering to our dear old friends and the dear old country, but although we have passed through so much already our courage is still undaunted. Dear friends, don't forget our address is P.O. Battleford, N.W.T., Canada. Love and kindest remembrances to all.

Yours as ever,

ALICE RENDELL.

May 15th, 1903.

MY DEAR FRIENDS:

It seems a long time since I had a paper chat with you all, but my thoughts have been wandering many times to old times, old friends and the old country, causing me many a bitter pang of homesickness. We arrived here "Doris Court" our *own* estate yesterday, May 15th, and are now rejoicing that we are at last at our journey's end. On our reaching Mr. Barr's camp my husband went to survey the section of land allotted to him, but he was not at all satisfied and would have nothing to do with it, so Mr. Barr went with him to look in a different section which resulted most happily for my husband, and he is now perfectly satisfied with his location and considers he is the proud possessor of as fine a tract of land as is possible to procure. As I am writing I can look out at my tent door and see him quite happy doing his first bit of ploughing on his own soil. There is no doubt it is most beautiful land. We have plenty of wood and water which is a great boon and much to be thankful for. Our friend and travelling companion has the next land adjoining ours which is just as good. We are only half an hour's drive from the stores in Mr. Barr's camp, half a mile from the prospective station, and only a few minutes from the school site. I must now hark back a bit and tell you something of our bitter experience while trekking up to the Promised Land. On leaving Battleford we had a 90-mile journey through most awful country, shaking us all to pieces, sometimes charging across great streams and gullies, at others driving through thick scrub. After a long day's journey we have arrived at the government tent simply perished with cold and hunger. By the time we reached Mr. Barr's camp I think we all felt weary, worn and sad. My dear little Doris was taken ill the day before we arrived, and seeing how very feverish she was I was terribly anxious. However, Willie immediately sought out the camp Dr. She had a temperature of 104. I had to poultice her and thanks to the Dr.'s kind attention she soon pulled round but misfortune seemed to dog our footsteps. Barnes now sickened and we thought it necessary to call in medical advice. He was much concerned about him and told us he feared it would turn to pneumonia. Owing to skilful and careful treatment he managed to ward it off. I suppose all the worry and anxiety proved the last straw as far as I was concerned, for I was the next to collapse with a bad chill and bronchitis, from which I am still suffering together with an abscess in my face all of which combined moves me feel very low and out of sorts. I am writing this on May 17th, dear father's 83rd birthday, and my thoughts have been with him. Every good wish, and we hope he spent as happy a day as possible under the circumstances. Whilst in the Barr camp we were greatly terrified at the terrible prairie fires which simply surrounded us on all sides and we had some very narrow escapes of being burned out of "house and home." At one time every man in camp, every horse and every plough was ordered out to plough round the camp to save it from total destruction. It was terrible to witness a terrific wind carrying all before it and as night came on it really was an awful sight, the pitiless flames as far as eye could see in every direction. There was a lovely lot of grass on our land when Willie first came up to see it, but the next day it was all burnt, still all the lovely young grass is shooting up very quickly and at any rate we are now safe from fire of which I am very nervous after all I have witnessed. 18th of May,—Willie started ploughing on Mr. Young's land on Sat. morning and in the afternoon started on his own. This morning, Monday, he had made up his mind to a good day's work as both Willie and Mr. Young are anxious to get in a few oats for the horses, but alas both are disappointed for the *snow* is falling and we are thankful to keep in our tent by the fire. I think all the country around here will be very pretty in a short time. We are now hunting out a nice spot for our little house which we are anxious to get up as soon as possible. The great difficulty is to get lumber. There is a gentleman in Mr. Barr's camp who thinks of returning home. He has the plan of a little 4-room bungalow and the timber all complete for building it. If he does go back he will sell it outright to Willie, but he would have to fetch it from Fort Pitt, 25 miles from here. Barnes goes to Battleford on Wednesday to fetch the rest of our baggage and Willie's plough, harrows and a cooking stove. He will be gone a week and will take all the letters down to post and I *hope* bring some back. You cannot have the least idea how we long for news and some papers, any literature would be so gratefully received. There is no paper sold here under 5 cents. We have any amount of prairie chicken and wild duck all over the *estate*, and Willie, I need not say, keeps us supplied. Yesterday and to-day we have thoroughly enjoyed a delicious dinner of prairie chicken, beans and potatoes. The beans are like little white peas and are very good. They are used here a great deal instead of potatoes which are scarce and very dear, equivalent to 3d. per lb. We are getting some vegetable seed from Battleford to start our kitchen garden as soon as possible. I shall be so thankful when the warmer weather

sets in. I can quite understand the charms of camping then but under present circumstances it has very few charms I can assure you, and what with the bitter cold and hard ground we don't get much refreshing rest. Still with all the hardships it is certainly a glorious feeling to be able to look around on our own property and feel that each day's work is for future benefit, no landlord and no rent to pay nor taxes! ! This indeed compensates for a very great deal. Best love and remembrances to all relations, friends and acquaintances.

Yours very sincerely,

ALICE RENDELL.

Township 49,
Range 1,
Section 36.

BARR'S COLONY,
BATTLEFORD, N.W.T.,
June 4th, 1903.

MY DEAR FRIENDS:

So much has happened since I last wrote that I hardly know where to begin. Firstly I have to tell you of a very sad occurrence. Our poor friend and neighbour Mr. Young took a chill during the severe weather a fortnight ago. He seemed so unwell when my husband went up to see him in his own tent $\frac{1}{2}$ mile away that I suggested to Willie to drive him down to us as Barnes had gone down to Battleford to fetch back implements, etc., and his tent was vacant for some days, then we could look after him. We sent for the camp doctor who thought it a serious case, Friday and Saturday he became gradually worse and was very delirious. Two doctors came on Sat. and there happened to be an experienced nurse in camp and he came out to remain the night Sat. I was alone with the poor fellow whilst Willie drove the doctors back to camp and fetched the nurse during which time he told me he knew well he was going to die and wished me to note down his wishes and write and cable to his wife. He wished Willie to take charge of everything he had until such time as we should receive instructions from his family. He passed away at 3.30 a.m. on Sunday, May 24th, after only four days' illness. It was an awful blow to us as you may imagine. We had been such good friends and he and Willie were so much together. He was buried the same evening at 7 o'clock on his own ground, the Dr. and Mr. Lloyd making all arrangements. We cabled to the poor wife in Manchester, and I wrote her a long letter giving her all details and we are now awaiting instructions from her. They were coming out this month. He has 4 children, two sons 18 and 20 and two daughters 16 and 13. We have the satisfaction of knowing we did everything we possibly could to save him. It all seems like a dream. Ever since this sad event we have had glorious weather and as one looks around on the lovely green grass and the bushes all in thick foliage one can hardly realize that a fortnight ago the ground was covered with snow. Willie has been working very hard. He started ploughing (as I told you in a former letter) on May 16th, the day after we arrived here. Now, June 4th he has 5 acres ploughed, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre into potatoes, 1 acre barley and $3\frac{1}{2}$ oats. The latter are already well up and looking splendid. About a week ago we managed to buy a nice cow and calf and I can assure you that I feel quite proud that I am now not only able to have a nice drop of milk for our own use, but I supply our next neighbour with a quart a day, and yesterday we all thoroughly enjoyed a good cup of cream for tea. What a treat it was! ! Next Monday Barnes goes off to Onion Lake, Fort Pitt, to fetch the lumber to start our bungalow. We have chosen the site so I suppose it will be commenced in a fortnight's time. We have never received any home papers yet. We are going in to camp this eve in the hope that a mail may be in. Barnes brought a few letters back from Battleford, father's, Miss Harvey's (with good news of my darling little Eric), Lillie Laxton's and Mr. Rogers'. How we poured over those letters! The first from home! I can quite understand the alarm felt on our behalf on reading all the reports, but there was a great deal more *truth* than *fiction* in them. Mr. Barr did not carry out all he promised (though *we* have no cause to complain as he has always dealt very fairly with *us*) but there was no provision for the people on their arrival or on the journey up to the Colony either in way of provision or accommodation, and great were the sufferings in consequence, more especially among the women and children. But everyone is loud in their praises of how the women have faced all hardships and privations and they were no trifles I can assure you. Mr. Barr is pretty well out of it now I think, but we have a splendid man in his place the Rev. Lloyd and he is doing everything that can be done for the benefit of the colonists. They say Barr will be arrested but I don't know if it true. Mr. Lloyd has gone after him to Battleford and all the Stores Committee and there is evidently something wrong somewhere. We are all right and have lost nothing through him; he has always been

especially kind to us in all our dealings with him. I forgot to mention when telling you about the cow that one of the young fellows who brought it up to us was called Lyle and he told us he had an uncle of that name living at *Newton Abbot*. He is a clergyman but retired. We are just tortured to death with mosquitos, the poor children are nearly driven crazy with them. We have to cover our faces with mosquito netting in order to rest at all. I must now close as it is time to get tea and be off and I want to post this in camp to-night. I end with my usual appeal for news from all friends who can find time to write if only a few lines also anything in the way of literature. We haven't seen an English paper since we left home.

With best remembrances to all and love to dear Father and Frank,

Yours very sincerely and affectly,

ALICE RENDELL.

LLOYDMINSTER,
BRITANNIA COLONY,
BATTLEFORD, N.W.T.,
CANADA.

July 22nd.

Having heard so much of all the exaggerated reports in praise of and in condemnation of this new colony and everything connected with it I have decided to devote some of the few spare moments of my time to writing my actual personal experience as one of the new colonist settlers hoping that a true unvarnished account of the state of affairs may perhaps if made public counteract a great deal of unnecessary harm which such reports must reflect on the Colony. To start from the commencement I left England April 8th by the *Lake Simcoe* as I was unable to settle up my affairs in time to join the Barr party on the *Manitoba* which afterwards proved more of an advantage than disadvantage. As far as qualifications are concerned for my starting farming in Canada I may say that I have farmed in the old country all my life the estate I rented in Devonshire having been farmed by my forefathers for over 200 years. I was paying rent at the rate of over 10 dollars per acre in addition to rates, tithes and taxes and wages. A crisis having come and failing to get my landlord to do anything either in reduction of rent or repairs of any kind to dwelling house or out buildings all of which were rapidly falling into ruins I determined to throw up the life of slavery for others and strike for independence in Canada for good or ill. Having acquired from headquarters all necessary information respecting the free grant lands in N.W.T. I applied for a homestead for myself and another for one of my men who had decided to throw in his lot with mine and in spite of the disapproval of many and dismal prophecies of failure, I with my wife and children aged 2 and 4 left the old country not without many a heartache for all near and dear to us that we were leaving behind yet with a strong determination to face all difficulties and succeed in the end. Our voyage from Liverpool to St. John's was a record one and we landed in St. John's April 13th having sailed from Liverpool April 8th and from this time onward our trial of endurance commenced. We were just hustled off the *Lake Simcoe* like so many cattle late in the day in terrible weather, snow and sleet, hungry and miserable, no proper meal having been provided on board since early in the day. Owing to the *Manitoba* being still in dock we had to land a long distance away and managed to be in the very thick of the fire which is now ancient history but was alarming indeed to those who happened to be as near it as ourselves, next door in fact. Thank God I got my wife and children, also baggage, in safety. We then had to wait till past midnight to get our baggage from the *Lake Simcoe*, viz. from Wed. till Thursday midnight just huddled together in the train almost starved with cold and hunger. Over the next portion of our journey I would like to draw a veil. It seems all the sleeping and colonist cars had been requisitioned by the *Manitoba* party, consequently the accommodation provided for us by the C.P.R. was of the most miserable description both as regards comfort and cleanliness, such as no English Railway would tolerate for cattle. My wife, who is a shareholder in the C.P.R. exclaimed, "Is this the wonderful C.P.R. that we hear so much of with all its wonderful accommodation for comfortable travelling!" After enduring indescribable misery in the train from April 15th to April 22nd we reached Saskatoon remaining there till April 29th. Here was the huge Barr encampment, but of the arrangements there I know little or nothing as I made my own independent arrangements and took a room for my wife and children, but I much doubt if those in camp suffered much more than we did, for accommodation and food were alike miserable and filthy. My first business at Saskatoon was to purchase wagon and pair of horses and harness which cost me 508 dollars, a stiff outlay but a necessitous one, also camp stove, plough, harrows and good supply of nails and tools. I had to waste a week here "waiting for baggage" thanks to the

total lack of organization on the part of the C.P.R. causing us great unnecessary expense which we could ill afford. However, we managed at last, having duly packed up our traps to set out April 29th en route for Battleford having duly provisioned ourselves for the journey, which was fortunate for there was nothing to be got on the road as represented or rather misrepresented, thus causing much misery and privation to many of the poorer class who had in a great measure counted on availing themselves of this promised boon. My experience of horses and driving in the old country stood me in good stead and in spite of all difficulties, inclement weather, rough country we reached Battleford safe and sound without one mishap in 4½ days which was considered very good as I had a heavy load. We remained at Battleford from Sunday, May 2nd, till Tuesday, May 4th, when we once more resumed our journey to the "Promised Land." This part of the journey was the most trying of all, the road terribly rough and the weather bitter. Had it not been for the government tents many must have died from cold and hunger. My wife and little girl now began to feel the effects of exposure to the bitter cold, and by the time we reached the Settlement both collapsed thoroughly ill, in fact we were all worn out and weary with the long journey and want of rest. My first enquiry was for a doctor who quickly came to our assistance and whose kindness and attention I cannot speak too highly of and little dreamt how frequently we were destined to call his professional experience to our aid within the next few weeks. With care my wife and little one soon recovered, when my man sickened with threatened pneumonia, and again Dr. Amos thanks to prompt attention saved him from a serious illness. We remained in camp from May 10th to 15th, prairie fires raging around on all sides causing terrible damage and giving rise to serious anxiety at one time for the safety of the whole camp, necessitating summoning out all men, horses and ploughs that happened to be available. I lost no time in starting to view the homestead allotted to me by Mr. Barr in Township 50, Sec. 23,24, Range 1, but quickly decided it was no good for agricultural purposes, and after due application Mr. Barr escorted me himself the next day to Township 49, Sec. 36, Range 1, with which land I was greatly pleased and decided at once upon it for my location, and on May 15th, after many weeks of great anxiety, weary travelling and the facing of many and great difficulties we pitched our tents at last on our own domain with a blessed feeling of thankfulness that journeying was over and the longed-for goal reached at last. I started the very next day to plough, and in less than a week had ploughed and tilled three acres of oats and the week after 1½ acres barley and ½ acre of potatoes. At the time of writing this, July 22nd, I have ¼ acre Swedes, also mangolds and vegetable of all kinds in my garden, all of which are looking splendid considering late sowing in consequence of the severest and latest spring known in the colony for 25 years. I am much pleased with my land which is good soil mostly cleared fit for plough with sufficient wood and brush for useful purposes. My wife and I view daily from our tent door the rapid completion of our bungalow which is to be our future home. This has been a heavy expenditure owing to the lack of lumber, having to fetch all from Fort Pitt or Onion Lake 30 miles distant. The supply is totally inadequate to the demand which seems the great drawback in respect to *all supplies* and a great hindrance to the settlers generally who have so much to do in the short time and this is a matter which greatly needs the attention of the authorities. The stores are terribly deficient of all necessities and unless arrangements are made to improve this department and greater facilities for obtaining tools, implements and general necessities the colonists will be heavily and seriously handicapped and the success of the colony seriously affected. This is the cry of the majority of the colonists and the difficulties above mentioned are doing much to discourage those anxious and willing to work, to say nothing of those who belong to the noble army of grumblers and only too ready to look on the black side of everything. The many who "turned back" and spread such alarming and distressing reports of the colony were mostly those who placed too much confidence in the rosy accounts of everything they read in print and relied too much on the promises made as to provisions and transport on their journey up to the settlement. That there was real ground for complaint in respect to the latter there is no doubt whatever. On the other hand many never brought their common sense into use at all, else they would have realized that as pioneers in a new colony they must have many serious difficulties and drawbacks to encounter and that all the courage and determination one is possessed of must need- less be brought into play to surmount the inevitable drawbacks we are bound to face before we can hope to "stem the tide." I cannot speak too highly in praise of the valuable and kindly assistance of the Government Officials who have spared no trouble or pains to smooth away all difficulties as far as they were able. We cannot live without supplies, we cannot work without tools, neither one nor the other are forthcoming as they ought to be. When complaints are made we are told,

"Oh, it will be all right when we get the railway through the colony." I quite believe it but what are we going to do meanwhile for the workers on the Railway cannot get on with their work for the very same reason, they cannot procure the necessary tools. Delay everywhere. Real workers eager to *get on* with the success of the Colony at heart will I am sure join with me in a very earnest plea that those in authority who have the power to do so will come to our aid, remedy the above-mentioned deficiencies and thus save much needless distress and anxiety to those who have given up home, country and friends in the old country to devote their future to the success of the New Colony.

(Signed) W. RENDELL.

Township 49, Section 36, Range 1.

LLOYDMINSTER,
BRITANNIA, Sask.,
N.W.T.

August 6th, 1903.

MY DEAR FRIENDS:

I see my last letter was dated June 4th. Time flies even in camp life which thank goodness terminates to-day, for this afternoon we contemplate moving up to "Doris Court" and sleep to-night for the 1st time for 4 months within shelter of 4 walls. July is the rainy month here and when the rain does come down it is like a deluge. Imagine the delight of being aroused night after night from your slumbers by the rain trickling down on you and as a rule it has a nasty habit of drifting just the very side of the tent you happen to be lying. I can assure you we have found it awfully trying. Next month, September, we are supposed to get what they term "Indian Summer." Then about the 2nd week in October winter sets in.

August 12th.

Since writing the above we have really removed to our *very own* domicile, and right proud we feel to look around, even though it be on bare boards and feel it is indeed our own *home*. All the weary "trekking" at an end. We look from one window and see the lovely oats and barley looking splendid. From another window I look across and see the "Master of Doris Court" ploughing away for dear life with his fine pair of horses, each acre ploughed meaning the better prospect for the coming year. The said team are just as fat as butter, they having taken themselves off 7 weeks ago across the prairie and baffled all efforts to find them until about 4 days ago when Barnes and another young fellow rode away we having had some tidings of their whereabouts and greatly to our delight they returned the same evening bringing the delinquents with them. Their long absence was getting a serious matter as time is growing short and every available hour must be devoted to ploughing before winter sets in. Well, the many friends who are sufficiently interested in our welfare will be wondering what sort of "shanty" "Doris Court" is, so I must try and paint it as vividly as possible in your mind's eye. It is in bungalow form, measuring 30 ft. by 30 and contains 5 rooms, 1 large attic the whole extent of the house quite fit to use for a bed room as we have had it all nicely boarded round and floored and 2 very large cellars in which we can store all necessary provisions for the winter. I shall try and send with this a little plan which will give you all a pretty clear idea of the position and size of the rooms. Everyone that sees it is of the same opinion that it is quite the best house in the Colony. There will be a verandah 4 or 5 feet wide round 3 sides of the house which will be lovely in summer and a fine garden all around as we are not stinted for ground and we hope in the spring to set up some fruit and other trees from the experimental farm to plant around. There is certainly a great charm and fascination in planning it all out knowing that it is our own property. I often say it compensates one largely for all the hardships we have passed through. Everyone assures us that we shall not have the chance of feeling lonely thro' the winter as we are close to the township and they will all be trooping out to see us. We have gone to more expense over our house than we intended in the first instance but so many want putting up for the winter that we felt it would repay us to have extra room. As it is we have had a lot of applications already which we have under consideration. Our bungalow will be warmed throughout by means of pipes from the kitchen stove and a heating stove which is placed in the octogan hall. There are no stoves as in England and we burn nothing but wood. The fires have to be kept going night and day during the winter and we have to put up double windows, viz., outside frames which can be removed in summer. The wild flowers are very lovely and those of my friends who know me best will guess the delight they afford me. The small single sunflowers are now in abundance all over our land, also gallardias, a kind of lily of the valley and red tiger lilies. Whilst I think of it I want all old friends who can to send me some seeds in a letter as I

would much like my garden to be one of reminiscences of the dear old country, especially Buckland, Netherton, Homefield, Brooklands and Home House, and I should prize them so. The mail goes out this eve so I must reluctantly curtail this edition and reserve further news till the next budget. Love and kindest remembrances to all relations and friends.

Yours very sincerely,

ALICE RENDELL.

October 21st.

DORIS COURT, BRITANNIA,
LLOYDMINSTER,
N.W.T., CANADA.

MY DEAR FRIENDS:

Whenever anything of importance happens I always feel it is about time to write a general letter. Yesterday was a day never to be forgotten by any of the inmates of Doris Court or inhabitants of Lloydminster. For days past we have been anxiously watching 7 huge prairie fires raging in the distance fearing that a wind might bring heavy disaster to our homestead and town. The night of Oct. 20th was an anxious one, the terrible circle of fire closing around us. The general opinion was that we were safe for the night but I could not sleep. The next morning our worst fears were realized and we knew that a few hours would decide our fate. The only safeguard against prairie fires is a broad belt of ploughing all round your homestead. This my husband had done with the exception of one side which, alas, was the very side towards which the fire was sweeping with awful rapidity. Needless to say the plough was soon at work and it was literally ploughing for dear life. Every available tub was filled with water, every sack collected together to beat out the flames when the time should come. Mr. Rendell, Barnes and another man who is working for us were all on the alert watching with intense eagerness all the different points. Meanwhile within the house I together with Mrs. Falmank (the wife of our postmaster who is boarding with us for the winter) and Mrs. Bunyan, who nursed me when my little girl was born, stood gazing out of the window horror stricken at the awful sight that met our eyes. We each of us had 3 little children and each one in arms. We mustered 9 little ones all under 6. Our little flock fortunately were too young to realize the deadly peril we were in and we had to keep on "rounding them up" preparatory to a hasty flight. I collected a few little valuables and looked around with a very heavy heart wondering whatever would become of us if in an hour or two we should be homeless. At last we could stand still no longer and we three women rushed out and filling buckets with the clay and soil dug up from the foundation we scattered it all over the ground immediately around the house. The wind was blowing a hurricane, bringing or rather driving the fire straight on us. The awful roar of the flames was enough to make the bravest shudder and the smoke and smell stifling. Willie continued ploughing until absolutely compelled to stop owing to heat and smoke. Our two men meanwhile drenched our roof with water and arming themselves with wet sacks hurried to the weakest points where there was the least probability of the flames "jumping" the fire guard which was only 150 yds. off the house all round. We could do nothing more than wait with bated breath. At last came the joyful sound "safe" from the western side but the danger was not yet over for on the north west side we were again threatened, and after the horses had been placed in safety all hands had to fly round to meet the enemy at the fresh point of attack and after a hard fight thanks to cool heads, strong arms the dreaded fire was kept at bay and after a short time of awful suspense and anxiety my husband came back to us with the welcome assurance "All danger over, safe for another year." We were all too overjoyed for words and after the dreadful strain of so many hours you may pretty well guess what the reaction was like. Mr. Rendell was literally fagged out, but after a little rest and refreshment we all felt better. We lost 4 ton of hay only but many have lost all their hay ricks. The fire started by the Vermillion River and was raging for days before it reached us and swept on down towards Battleford. There is no doubt whatever but that our fire guard in a great measure saved the town life. Apart from the horror of it, it was a most wonderful sight. Of course on the prairie you can see an enormous distance, and for 20 or 30 miles there was nothing but flames. As it grows dusk the effect is most weird. How thankful we were that the fire reached us in the day time and not at night! Thus ends my description of a prairie fire and I earnestly trust I may never witness such another. We have quite a houseful at present mustering 15 in all which is a big family to cater and cook for. My little ones are quite happy, the little *Canadian* girl being especially bonnie and thriving splendidly. Our town site is all surveyed and the Government have decided to grant a plot of land to every colonist who cares

to apply for it. Mr. Rendell and Barnes have each got one and we intend erecting a little store on ours for the disposal of our dairy produce. We are hoping to get 2 or 3 more cows this next week. Everyone likes our butter made in the old Devonshire fashion. I have been for a drive to-day and the town is growing very, very fast, dozens of little "shacks" springing up all around. There are two large general stores, 2 Restaurants, Post Office, Butcher's Shop, Blacksmiths, Vicarage all within 20 minutes' walk of Doris Court. I have had to write this at odd moments and in great haste and must reluctantly curtail this and write the rest of my news later on. I was overjoyed to receive to-day 6 home letters from my dear old friends in acknowledgement of the news of the birth of my little daughter.

Yours as ever,
A.R.

DORISCOURT,
LLOYDMINSTER,
BRITTANNIA,
SASK., N.W.T.,
CANADA.

Dec. 10th, 1903.

MY DEAR FRIENDS:

Little did I dream this time last year that I would be sending you my New Year Greetings this year from over the sea thousands of miles away. The approach of Xmas makes me feel pretty homesick at times, tho' I haven't much time to brood over it which is perhaps a very good thing. Before launching into my "yarn" let me wish one and all every happiness and prosperity for the coming year and all succeeding ones. There is to be a general gathering of the whole colony on Xmas Day and great preparations are being made to make it a great success. Church Service at 10.30, High Tea at 5 followed by Concert and large Xmas tree for the children. It is all being well organized, sub-committees consisting each of 4 ladies being appointed as follows: Meat Committee, Bread, Butter and Milk, Cakes and Pastry, etc., etc., all acting under a general Committee. Mr. Hall, who is the owner of the large stores, is lending his building for the occasion and on Boxing Night we hope to have a dance. Everything is going ahead now with amazing rapidity. We have been most fortunate in having most glorious weather, continuous sunshine from day to day and hard frost at night. Our clergyman Mr. Lloyd is a very musical man and every Wednesday he holds a choir practise at his own house. The 1st hour is devoted to the music for the following Sunday services after which we have secular music, quartettes, trios, duets and solos, all the best music we can muster. He has now formed a "Musical Union" and we have already 110 names on the list of members. I need scarcely say I have joined and I thoroughly enjoy the practises, they are so splendidly conducted. We really have a very fine choir. Every Thursday eve there is either a concert or debate upon some popular and instructive topic. The past fortnight it has been decided by general consent to erect a structure which for the time being will serve as church, school and recreation room. Everyone is giving a log (it is of course to be built of logs) and the name of each donor to be engraved thereon by their own hand. All the work of erecting it is to be done voluntarily, each one having volunteered a day's, two days' or a week's work. Things go ahead and no mistake. With regard to the Choral Union the idea is for all the places around such as Battleford, Onion Lake, Bresaylor all to form branches and practise the same music and then have a meeting from time to time of the amassed choirs. The Lloydminster choir has already been invited to Onion Lake in March (36 miles). The whole party to go in sleighs. We have a sleigh now which we use with our wagon box. It is a delightful sensation flying over the snow which is not soft like in England but very hard and crisp. One great drawback here is lack of water. We dug one well without success and have now started another. They have got down 20 feet but no luck as yet. Every drop of water I use for cooking and washing is melted snow and lovely water it is too, but of course it means a lot of labour carting it in and melting it down. Everyone is in great excitement just now. An "overseer" has to be elected (same as our *Mayor*) and canvassing is going on pretty smartly and I rather fancy the general favourite is Dr. Amos. So you see with one thing and another we are quite busy. And now, dear Friends, a little bird tells me some of you are just working hard for the benefit of the hospital here in response to my appeal. I can find no words to express my delight and gratitude and am positive that your kindly effort in so good a cause will surely bring its own reward and I am sure many a hearty blessing will be evoked on your behalf in Lloydminster. A little lumber shack is to be put up almost immediately so great is the need for it. I thank you all most earnestly. You would not wonder at my taking this so much to heart could you but have witnessed what I have or been through what I myself have suffered.

You cannot realize how awful it is. My next letter to you will be a true and accurate account of how we spent our first Xmas in the Colony. The little ones are all well and happy and growing very rapidly. The wee Canadian is the happiest baby I have ever seen. She will, I think, be very like Doris. I think I have told you most of the news. I have been somewhat handicapped in my work lately owing to a sprained arm. I have managed at some time or another to strain the principal muscle of my left arm. It has been terribly painful. Dr. Amos feared at first that I had put it out of (joint). Mr. Rendell has just bought in a piece of Railway land adjoining our homestead consisting of 320 acres. As soon as the railway is up it must be most valuable and will add greatly to the value of our homestead. We also have bought a little colt 1 year old for 11 dollars and a ton of hay thrown in. The children are very delighted. Our old Sport is very well and quite at home. Our police are still with us and are very lively boys; no fear of being *dull* where they are. They make a great pet of Doris. She always pours out tea for them. The other people are leaving next Wednesday, for which I am truly thankful.

I must now close with hearty good wishes to all.

Your affectionate friend,

ALICE RENDELL.

DORISCOURT, LLOYDMINSTER,
BRITTANNIA, SASK.,
N.W.T., CANADA.

DEAR FRIENDS:

According to promise I am going to do my best to give you to the best of my ability a graphic account of how we spent our 1st Xmas in Lloydminster. I think as Xmas approached we all rather dreaded it knowing how this special season brings with it so forcibly the memory of all the home gatherings in the Old Country. Fortunately, we personally, are far too busy in our surroundings to brood over vain regrets and Xmas Day was upon us almost before we could realize the fact. There was service at 11 o'clock a.m. and at 5 p.m. the "Festivities" started. Thanks to the generosity of Mess. Hall Scott and Co., who have just completed a very large building for General Stores, the Gathering of the Colonists took place there and it is certainly owing to their great kindness that our Xmas and New Year was spent so pleasantly and happily. The 1st item on the programme was a big feed followed by a capital concert divided into two parts. After the 1st half had been successfully carried through came a large Xmas tree very prettily decorated, the little gifts being distributed by an ideal "Santa Claus." I need scarcely say how delighted the little ones were. The whole proceedings were brought to a close about 11.30 p.m. after a most enjoyable social gathering and the 1st Xmas in Lloydminster is a thing of the past but nevertheless it will be remembered by all who were present as a bright and happy one the more so as it was unexpected and so well carried out. The effect it had upon us was that we all felt cheered by this little excitement after all we had previously passed through and somehow "longed for more." Thanks again to Messrs. Hall Scott and Co. another happy gathering was arranged for New Year's Eve, and yet another on New Year's Day. They not only gave the use of their splendid building for a dance but undertook all arrangements and issued a general invitation and welcome to all. The room was very prettily decorated and the floor well waxed. The *Band* consisted of several violins, 2 cornets and harmonium. We started dancing at 8.30 p.m. and after a most enjoyable evening broke up at about 4.30 a.m. We all felt years younger. We women up with Sir Roger and Auld Lang Syne and walked back to Doris Court in brilliant moonlight, arriving home as the clock struck 5 a.m. The next evening (Saturday) there was an excellent concert at the conclusion of which there was an impromptu dance, this being the last chance in Messrs. Hall Scott and Co.'s spacious building. You will see that our Xmas and New Year was by no means dull or miserable, nor were our dear absent ones forgotten. We are much amused at the reports that reach us from England as to the terrible plight we are in even to the verge of *starvation*. Please once and for all disabuse your minds of any such ideas. We are quite happy and contented, very much better off than we were in England, whilst as to food we live quite as well as ever we did. We have 2 butchers on the town site. Our meat is delivered at the door and is of the very best quality. Certainly we have had difficulties to surmount and hardships to endure but we quite expected we should before we left England and we treasured up a reserve fund of determination and pluck which stood us in good stead when the need came. I would never advise anyone to come out here who is the least afraid of work, they are better off home. There is plenty of room to breathe in this country and if the work is hard the freedom, which is the indispensable attribute of the life here, makes one far less susceptible to physical fatigue than in England where

one seems to have such a feeling of weighty oppression to handicap one's energies. Here one feels that each week's work is a step onward whilst alas in the old country oftentimes a year's hard toil brought nothing but disappointment and additional anxiety. We are the proud possessors of the best house in the colony and I think I may also add the best homestead. It is generally pronounced, by those whose opinion is worth having, to be of exceptionally good value owing to its close proximity to the town, our land is actually adjoining the town site. There is no doubt whatever but that Lloydminster bids fair to be a very important centre, its growth week by week is marvelous. The Government are now erecting a large Emigration Hall in anticipation of the arrival of the newcomers in the spring. Meetings are being held now to discuss and perfect all arrangements for the meeting of expected friends and families and ensure their safe conduct right up to the Colony. There seems to be a terrible feeling of jealousy or something akin to it existing at Saskatoon and Battleford with regard to this colony and they are doing their utmost to dissuade people from coming up beyond those two points by spreading the most gloomy reports which are utterly untrue. Many there are who seemed to expect that luxuries sprang up on the prairie like mushrooms, ready for them without any special effort or exertion on their part. I need scarcely say that they are now sadder and wiser men. So far we have passed through the winter splendidly and at the time of writing this it is 19th Jan. Brilliant sunshine from week's end to week's end. Our bungalow has kept beautifully warm, it is heated throughout by pipes connected with the kitchen stove and a heating stove in the hall. The rooms are all pretty well of an even temperature. The worst feature we have had to contend with is want of water. We have had two wells sunk close to the house but up to now have not been successful in striking water. Of course we are never without water whilst the snow is about. We use nothing else but melted snow for washing and cooking, lovely water it is too. From what I hear I fancy we are being favoured with an exceptionally mild winter to make up for the exceptionally severe spring that greeted us on our arrival in this country. Any way we have all kept well up to now. We have had a good supply of wood from our own land and the "price of coals" is another item over which we have no need to worry. We have to pay very dearly for flour, 4½ dollars for 100 lb. The reason things are so dear is of course owing to the freightage. When the Railway comes through the Colony everything will be cheaper. There is every prospect of the Rail being opened up in a year from now. The telegraph will be in working order in a few weeks time. We have two large general stores, drug stores, a resident Doctor and Hospital in view. We have a Choral Union mustering 120 members and they are now forming a Rifle Corps, 160 members enrolled. Mr. Rendell has been appointed Lieutenant and Auditor. The temperature at time of writing registered 28 below zero. Those who have been outside say it is a bit "nippy" and if you don't take proper precautions to well protect nose and ears you soon get them frost bitten, the only remedy there is to well rub the part affected with snow till circulation is restored. The land here is of splendid quality fit to grow anything and especially adapted for mixed farming. We have now 480 acres. By next spring several thousand more are expected to arrive in the Colony and no trouble is being spared to arrange everything for their comfort on their arrival either at Saskatoon or Edmonton. Should this letter be made public and meet the eye of any who may be desirous of coming out to the Colony I can only say we shall be only too pleased to answer any questions or give any information in our power. There can be no doubt whatever but that the Colony will succeed and that Lloydminster in a few years' time will be a very large and prosperous centre. But I earnestly hope I have ere this dispelled all unfavourable ideas as to our fortune. Probably many who have been commiserating our lot have far greater need of pity than we, for whilst they are still plodding and "hybernating" we are on the "progressive," probably making greater headway in 12 months than they in as many years for this is nothing if not a "Go-ahead" country.

Best wishes to all old friends in the "old country" from

Yours sincerely,

ALICE RENDELL.

DEAR FRIENDS:

It has come to my ears that some of you are still athirst for "more about Canada" so I am going to try to send you a short account of how we are progressing in this far away land. Well, the town of Lloydminster is growing not "slowly and surely," but rapidly and surely." Just recently we have a fine Bank building belonging to the "Canadian Bank of Commerce."

LLOYDMINSTER,
Nov., 1905.

DEAR FRIENDS:

It is such a long time since I last wrote you a general letter that I think I must make an effort to give you some idea how we are getting on up to date. Much has happened since I wrote last and I hardly know where to begin. Lloydminster is now quite a little town, the rail is up and our station is quite a pretty addition to the town. Little did I think that the whistle of an engine would ever sound so sweet. The passenger service is not properly organized yet as the line is still in the hands of the construction party but as soon as the line is completed and handed over to the C.N.R. company then we shall have a regular service. It is hard for you in the old country surrounded by every comfort and luxury to realize in the smallest degree what we have all put through the past 2 years in comparative isolation. Sometimes without the slightest idea of what was going on in the outside world for a fortnight or 3 weeks together. For the winter comparatively at the mercy of the weather for news or provisions all having to come by road from Saskatoon and when they did come the price of the commonest necessities was enough to make the pluckiest feel downhearted when we saw the capital we had thought ample to carry us on for a year or so vanishing like dust almost in bare living. "It will be different when the train is in" became a stock phrase. It was weary waiting and many of us had almost lost heart until one day we heard the rails were laid within 2 miles of Lloydminster and in less than a week later the 1st train steamed into Lloydminster. Since then there has been quite a revolution in the price of everything. Flour which we had paid 5 dollars per 100 lb. bag is now \$2.80 top price and everything else in proportion. Lumber too is coming down in price. Town lots have been on the market and bought at high prices. Everyone is now building lumber houses instead of the log shack of the "old timers," bricks too are being extensively used for building and this winter will probably be a pretty severe test as to whether they will stand the climate or no. To those like ourselves who were amongst the 1st to arrive up in the Colony in May, 1903, and at most 1 doz. tents were all that could be seen on the bare prairie and now 3 large Hotels are in course of erection, stores of all kinds, a fine building for the Branch of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Drug store, printing office from which is issued weekly our newsy little paper the "*Lloydminster Times*." It is just *marvellous*. This year has been a good season on the whole for harvest, but everything has to be done with such a rush the summer season is so short. One needs an infinite amount of patience in this climate, the late and early frosts play such awful havoc. This year we have had 50 acres under cultivation; our grain is not threshed yet as the threshing outfit has not been up our way yet, but the general yield is oats about 50 to 60 bushels per acre, wheat about 25. We had about 2 acres of potatoes and a splendid crop, but alas an early frost spoilt half before they could be got out of the ground. From 4 lbs. of seed from the Experimental Farm Mr. Rendell had a yield of 136 lbs. Many of them weighing over 20 ounces. Our garden produce was splendid. We picked several cwt. of peas and disposed of them in town, one Restaurant taking nearly all we could supply. We have put on a large addition to our house in the shape of a substantial log building 14 ft. by 18 which will serve to store the grain in winter and in summer will be utilized as a summer kitchen. Mr. Rendell is now completing a fine stable also log, 30 by 15. We have some good cows and our milk is disposed of right away and fetched from the door so that we have no bother.

OUTLINE LECTURES IN CANADIAN HISTORY

The association decided some time ago to have prepared a series of outline lectures on various phases of the history of our country, to be accompanied by sets of lantern slides. These outline lectures are intended to be for the use of high school teachers and others who may have occasion to use them. The idea is not to supply complete lectures, but rather the framework upon which each man may build up his own lecture. The bones are furnished, the dry facts, into which the lecturer must breathe the breath of life; clothe them in his own language.

For one reason or another not much progress has yet been made with the preparation of these outline lectures, mainly because those who have

undertaken their preparation are busy men tied up to many other interests. There has also been some uncertainty as to just what form they should take. The following attempts at outline lectures on the North West Company, the Discovery of the North West Coast, and the Rise and Fall of Louisbourg, are offered not as ideal solutions of the problem, but merely as suggestions, for which criticisms are invited. It is hoped that other members of the association will give thought to the matter, and that before very long the association may be in a position to offer the use of a series of outline lectures with appropriate slides.

DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH WEST COAST

By F. W. HOWAY

The story of our western coast is filled with romance. The search for the North West Passage and the Great River of the West, the adventurous life of the fur traders on sea and land, and the lurid scene in the gold "rushes" to the Fraser and to Cariboo all find place and combine to make the history of British Columbia intensely interesting.

Let us turn over to-night the first few pages of this attractive story, see the clearing away of the mists of ages with the false accounts of the region before the light of knowledge shed by Captain Cook's last voyage, and watch the maritime traders reaping rich harvests of sea-otter skins on the northwest coast.

In 1579 Sir Francis Drake, the free-booter, having ravaged and pillaged the coast from Chili to Mexico, and with the hold of the *Golden Hind* filled with treasure, feared to return to England either by way of Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, lest his vessel should be intercepted by the Spaniards. In this dilemma he bethought himself of the North West Passage and determined to sail home by that route. In his search for this passage Drake reached latitude 43° , possibly latitude 48° , but, of course was unsuccessful.

(Here may be shown a picture of Drake's silver map, with the suggestion that according to it the utmost limit of Drake's voyage was in reality 48° ; and also views of ships of that time.)

Thereafter the North West Passage must be sought for beyond the limit of Drake's voyage, whether 43° or 48° . Many persons wrote of the passage, claiming to have found it on the British Columbian coast, and to have sailed through it to the Atlantic. Of these the best known are de Fonte and de Fuca. Their stories were false; but until the facts of geography became known (and afterwards, too, strangely enough!) many believed in them. The region at that time was a favourite hunting ground for the romancers—Bacon's Atlantis was there and Swift's land of the giants, Brobdingnag.

The Russians from Siberia were the first to see the extreme northern parts of America. In 1741 Behring and Chirikoff had glimpses of the Alaskan coast; and, later, Russian traders began to arrive and make settlements, or rather, trading posts. But the last land to be spied out on the western coast was that between 43° or 48° and Alaska—in other words, speaking generally, the coast of British Columbia.

In 1603 the Spaniards, Viscaino and Aguilar traced roughly the coast to about 42° or 43° ; but from that time until 1774—one hundred and seventy one years—no further effort was made by Spain to discover what

lay under the mists of the North. Spain was, in truth, not eager for discovery on the northwest coast further than was necessary to obtain knowledge of safe harbours for her rich treasure ships from the Philippines. In the North West Passage, so ceaselessly sought by the British, she took no interest. But the activities of the Russians in the far north at last aroused her from her lethargy.

In 1774 therefore Juan Perez was sent out from Monterey in command of a small vessel, the *Santiago*, to explore the coast as high as latitude 60° and take possession for Spain so as to hem the Russians into the northern region and prevent them from spreading their trading posts southward towards Mexico. On 18th July, 1774, the Spaniards on this little vessel—first of Europeans—obtained a view of the British Columbian coast. They were then off the Queen Charlotte islands, and, according to the diaries of the friars, Crepi and Pena, who recorded the incidents of the voyage, saw on the northeast horizon an “insulated cliff or peak with a flat top covered with snow.” This was, plainly, San Christobal, or “the sierra of San Cristobal,” as Perez later named it.

Continuing northward the Spaniards on 20th July saw Dixon Entrance and the distant Alaskan coast. The natives came out in their canoes to trade with them and invited them to land; but the constant fog, the swift currents of the entrance, and, perhaps, a certain amount of fear of the “pagans” deterred them from doing so, though they were in need of water and had prepared a large cross to be planted on the shore as a token of possession. The friars noted the presence of iron implements amongst the Indians; but they could obtain no information as to the source of supply. It was plain, however, that the savages knew the use of that metal and in the trade that went on they showed their desire for it in any form that had a cutting edge. The women, too, were observed to be wearings rings on their fingers and bracelets of iron and copper.

For four days the *Santiago* hovered in the vicinity of Dixon Entrance but without making a landing; finally, in desperation, she turned her prow again to the southward and, through fog so thick that sometimes the watch could not see the ship's length, made her way slowly towards Mexico.

(Here insert an early map of the coast, say, that of Maurelle to be found in Barrington's Miscellanies, and early views of the Haida, with pictures of the labret, taken from Dixon; views of totem poles, etc.)

On 6th August, 1774, as they were returning homeward, in latitude 48° the fog rose for an instant and they saw the high, snow-capped, majestic Olympic range. Carried northward as the fog again settled down the *Santiago* did not sight land again until in latitude $49^{\circ} 05'$, at four leagues distance. Making in with it the Spaniards, on 8th August, anchored in a C-shaped roadstead, which they called San Lorenzo. This spot from their description and from Indian legend has been identified as being a few miles north of Cape Estevan, the southern point of the large bay in which Nootka Sound is situated. Here, too, they met the Indians who paddled out to the vessel as she lay at anchor about a league from the shore. Trade sprang up between them; according to the friars the natives were willing to exchange the skins they had and their manufactures for clothing, ribbons, and shells from the beach at Monterey. “Some pieces of iron and of copper and of knives were seen in their

possession," says Crespi. It would be interesting to consider at length whence and how they had been obtained.

(Here insert picture of sea-otter, pictures of Indian canoes on west coast, and of their manufactures and implements, taken from the Guide to the Anthropological section of the Museum of British Columbia.)

Now it was determined to plant the cross that had been so long awaiting the opportunity. Scarcely had the long boat departed on this mission when a westerly gale arose and Perez, fearful of being caught on a lee shore, cut his cable and ran for the open sea. This move, of course, forced the long boat to abandon her purpose; it was only after much difficulty that she reached the *Santiago*, lying to, three leagues off shore. The ship's company being thus reunited the *Santiago* resumed her interrupted voyage southward and we follow her no further.

The Indian tradition of this visit, as recorded by Father Brabant the first resident Roman Catholic missionary on the west coast of Vancouver island, runs in this wise:—

"The vessel was seen far at sea from the Indian village known as Oum-mis, near what is now shown on the chart as Hole-in-the-wall. On first sighting her the Indians thought it was an immense bird but when she came nearer and they could see the people on board, the Indians thought that the vessel was some wonderful and very large canoe come back from the land of the dead with their bygone chiefs. At last the vessel came close to the shore, when the Indians found they were not their dead chiefs but entire strangers in colour and appearance. The Indians traded with them, and they gave the Indians iron and other articles for furs. The vessel stayed but a very short time."

(Here insert a map of west coast of Vancouver island, and views of Indian village at Friendly Cove and of Indians taken from Captain Cook's Third Voyage.)

Following Spain's age-old policy of secrecy in all matters relating to the northwest coast, the report of this voyage was not given to the world, but remained buried in the archives until quite modern times. In consequence though Captain Cook reached Nootka sound almost four years later, yet as the British Government at once published his account of his voyage containing the first information of the land and the people he has been always recognized as the discoverer of British Columbia, and it is probably too late to secure to Juan Perez his proper position.

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

In 1776 the great Captain James Cook sailed from England on his third and last voyage. So far as America was concerned the main object was to seek out the strait of Anian, or the North West Passage, as it was commonly called. To encourage the effort the terms under which the reward of £20,000 had been offered in 1745, were altered so as to include the discovery of the passage from the Pacific side.

In March 1778 Cook made a landfall on the western coast of America about latitude 43°. Continuing his route along the coast he sighted cape Flattery, but owing to a gale he was glad to get an offing. Much fault has been found with him because he stated, after speaking of that cape: "It is in this very latitude where we now were that geographers have placed the pretended strait of Juan de Fuca. We saw nothing like it nor is there the least probability that ever any such thing existed." His critics point out that cape Flattery is at the entrance of the waterway that we now call the strait of Juan de Fuca; hence, say they, Cook should not have made such an *ex cathedra* statement. But it is they who are in the wrong; for though to-day the strait bears the name of the lying old Greek pilot (if he ever

really existed), yet if the account of his alleged voyage be examined it will be seen that he placed the strait between 47° and 48°; Cook had passed that latitude and could say positively that no such strait existed there.

(Here a few words may be given to the earlier voyages of Captain Cook, with a picture of himself and his vessels, the *Resolution* and *Discovery*.)

After a succession of gales—for it was the equinoctial season Cook, on 29th March, again saw the land. By an odd coincidence it was the same point off which Perez had anchored nearly four years before—cape Estevan, or as Cook called it Point Breakers. Passing the point and continuing eastward he was soon in Nootka sound. The natives came out in their canoes to greet him. They circled around the ships; they cast feathers upon the water in token of amity; and one of the men, standing up, delivered, to the accompaniment of a rattle “loudly strook,” a lengthy oration, doubtless of welcome, but of which, it is needless to say, the strangers understood not a word. Finally the two ships, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, were anchored in “a convenient snug cove,” which is now known as Resolution cove in Bligh island, Nootka sound.

(Here insert pictures of Nootka sound, of the vessels at anchor in Resolution cove, taken from Admiralty drawing, and of Indians and Indian canoes, etc.)

Cook's chief business was to obtain wood and water and to make repairs to his ships. While the work went on the natives visited the vessels day by day bringing for barter various articles of their manufacture and the skins of various animals, but especially of the sea-otter. He observed amongst them “little ornaments of thin brass and iron, shaped like a horse-shoe” which hung from their noses; more important, however, he saw several chisels or pieces of iron fixed to handles. The savages here too, like those Perez had met at Queen Charlotte islands, were eager to obtain iron and brass. He remarks that the iron was paler in colour than English iron and that it had been formed into the shape of knives. Again the question: Whence came this iron?

Cook remained about a month at Nootka, for the repairs, as frequently happens where old things are the subject, occupied far longer than had been originally anticipated. Thus he had an opportunity not only to meet the natives at the vessels, but what was far more valuable, to visit them in their homes. By reason of this almost daily intercourse he was enabled to describe for us their houses, their tribal arrangements, their clothing and food, their implements of peace and war, their methods of hunting and fishing, their habits of life, and their language and amusements. During this time the sailors sought to replenish their wardrobes with the only commodities the country afforded—skins. For bits of brass, tin, copper, or iron, for nails, looking-glasses, buttons, and similar trifles they obtained sea-otter skins which were afterwards found to be of great value in China. But the strange thing is that, though he remained the whole time within about twenty miles of the place where Juan Perez had anchored less than four years before he does not appear to have seen or heard anything to cause him to suspect that the Spaniards had preceded him. In none of the published accounts of the voyage—of which there are three besides the official one—is there the least hint of any knowledge of the earlier visit of the *Santiago*.

From some natives who lived in the vicinity of cape Estevan and who came, as did all the neighborhood, to see the marvellous sight of the strange ships and strange men were purchased two silver tablespoons, “which from their peculiar shape,” says Captain Cook, “we supposed to be of Spanish manufacture.” Yet this incident does not seem to have raised

in his mind any question as to how those admittedly Spanish articles had reached this spot, so far removed from any territory occupied by Spain. Others, however, drew a deduction therefrom. In the manuscript diary of Thomas Edgar, the master of the *Discovery*, the following entry occurs: "In the afternoon (20th April, 1778), Captain Clerke of the *Resolution* bought of the Natives for a pewter washhand bason two silver tablespoons of Spanish make, an almost certain proof that the Spaniards have been here, if not actually at this place, in the neighborhood of it." And from Haswell's manuscript Log of the *Columbia* we learn that the visit still remained in the minds and memories of the natives.

(Here insert a selection of the views given in Captain Cook's Third Voyage, view of Maquinna's grave, and views from the atlas of the *Viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana*.)

Having completed his repairs Captain Cook sailed northward to pursue his discoveries. He did not sight land again until he reached Sitka; what lay between Nootka and Sitka was unknown: Juan Perez had seen a bit of it, but his record was buried in the Spanish archives. From that point he continued his northward voyage, passed through Behring Sea and Behring Strait, and endeavoured to make his way eastward, but was driven back by the ice floes. He returned to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands to winter and there he was killed on 14th February, 1779. Returning to England the vessels called at Canton where the sailors were surprised and delighted to find a greedy market for the sea-otter skins that they had so casually obtained at Nootka. One seaman sold his stock for \$800. A few prime skins brought \$120 each. Captain King says that the crew must have realized about £2,000 from the sale of their furs, many of which through neglect had been somewhat injured. He adds that, as we can readily believe, the men were most eager to return to the coast and make their fortunes by obtaining a cargo of these sea-otter skins, so cheap there and so valuable in China.

(Here insert views of Canton in the fur trading days taken from Old Shipping Days in Boston, and the publications of the Marine Research Society of Salem.)

EARLY MARITIME FUR TRADE

Out of this knowledge sprang the maritime fur trade. The first vessel to undertake this trade was a small British bottom under Captain Hanna which left China in 1785. The success of this pioneer effort induced others to follow. They came from the ports of India, from China, from England, from France, and from the United States. It is not intended to deal with the particulars of their work, but rather to give some idea of what this trade was like and how it was carried on. In every case the effort was to seek out a spot for trade to which no one had previously resorted. As a consequence the gap in our geography which Captain Cook had left was soon filled up—at least as regards the exterior shore of the continent. The maritime trade early established the existence of the Queen Charlotte Islands and indicated in a general way the numerous inlets that indent the coast of Vancouver island and the continent to the northward. But, naturally, as the traders were seeking skins and furs and not engaged in exploration, they did not attempt to spell out all the ramifications of the maze of waterways along the coast.

The traders were seeking principally the skin of the sea-otter which at the commencement could be purchased for bits of iron and copper. For some years the standard item of trade was the "toe," a bit of iron, five or

six inches long and about the width and thickness of strong hoop iron. For one or more of these "toes," or chisels as some called them, the trader could in the early days of the trade, obtain a sea-otter skin worth \$40 in China. The following description of a trading scene near the northern end of Queen Charlotte islands is given by Dixon who was on the coast in 1787:—

"A scene now commenced which absolutely beggars all description, and with which we were so overjoyed that we could scarcely believe the evidence of our own senses. There were ten canoes about the ship which contained, as nearly as I could estimate, 120 persons; many of them brought most beautiful sea-otter cloaks; others, excellent skins; and, in short, none came empty-handed; and the rapidity with which they sold them was a circumstance additionally pleasing; they fairly quarreled with each other about which should sell his cloak first; and some actually threw their furs on board, if nobody was at hand to receive them; but we took particular care to let none go from the vessel unpaid. Toes were almost the only article we bartered with on this occasion, and indeed they were taken so very eagerly that there was not the least occasion to offer anything else. In less than half an hour we purchased 300 sea-otter skins of an excellent quality."

As the trade increased this primitive simplicity vanished. The items of trade became diversified and included bars of iron, sheets of copper, knives, axes of all kinds and shapes, chisels, pots and pans, mirrors, guns and gunpowder, blankets, clothing, blue cloth, and (we should blush to admit it), rum, besides of course buttons, beads, bells and trinkets of all kinds. But the traders found the natives strangely whimsical; and what was worse with the increase of competition that natural whimsically was fomented. Thus it happened that a vessel well equipped with trading goods would discover that she had nothing on board that would tempt the fickle fancy of the savages. Perhaps the experience of Joseph Ingraham of the brigantine *Hope*, of Boston may make this plain. When he arrived in 1791 he found the Indians at the northern end of Queen Charlotte islands already supplied with all the clothing, pots and pans, axes and knives that they wanted. He was therefore forced to discover something to tempt them. He thought long and hard and at last evolved the idea of supplying them with iron collars. It may sound like fiction; but it is hard fact. He directed his blacksmith to cut iron rods about half an inch in diameter into convenient lengths to slip over the head and encircle the neck. Three of these pieces were then twisted together neatly and smoothly polished. This hideous ornament, being a fashionable article, was very expensive. It cost three prime sea-otter skins; but everyone must be in the fashion; everyone must have his iron collar. Using these collars as a means of barter Ingraham obtained in 49 days more than 1,400 sea-otter skins. He then sailed to China to dispose of them. On his return to the coast he kept his blacksmith busy making a stock of these collars and shaping daggers of a form that the natives had demanded; but on his arrival he found that the fashion had changed. The savages would not look at his iron collars, nor at the daggers. What they now wanted were tablespoons—an article that in the preceding year they had quite condemned—heavy sole leather to make their coats of mail, and a special kind of pearl shell.

The great aim was to discover what the whimsical natives wished or needed, or thought that they needed, and to supply it. Some of the traders made fortunes by seizing upon a taste of the natives and supplying it. For example, it had been remarked that they held in high esteem the skin of the ermine for decoration of their ceremonial dresses. Though many had observed this fondness for ermine skins it remained for a quick-witted trader to take advantage of it. He purchased on the Atlantic coast some

3,000 of these little skins. Arriving on the coast he traded them at the rate of five for a prime sea-otter skin. As they had cost him 30 cents each it will be seen that he was making a good bargain—\$1.50 for \$40. Others noticed their desire for something to hang on the fringe of their garments that would give a tinkling sound. Some imported large quantities of the cheap Chinese copper money commonly called cash. These they traded with the Indians to be sewed on their ceremonial dresses. They answered for a time, until another trader bethought himself of thimbles. Gross upon gross of thimbles were brought to the coast, not to be used by the women in sewing, but to be hung on the men's garments like little bells so as to give out a continual tintinabulation as the wearer walked or moved about.

In the early days of the maritime fur trade the vessels merely fired a gun and lay-to, sometimes two or three leagues, or more, from shore, and awaited the arrival of the natives with their furs. But as competition increased a change occurred: the trading vessels began to come closer in and soon they sought out every Indian village and anchored before it to obtain trade. At first, too, no savages were allowed on board, except the chiefs or other high persons to whom the trader wished to show favour. The trade was then conducted over the ship's side from the canoes alongside. But soon in order to ingratiate themselves the traders began to ask the Indians indiscriminately to come aboard; until finally the savages regarded it as their vested right to be on the deck when disposing of their furs. Thus they were brought close to what was to them immense wealth. Occasionally the temptation was more than they could stand, and as a result, many efforts to capture the vessels were made, some of which were unfortunately only too successful. Yet it must not be thought that all the attempts at capture arose in this way. The maritime fur trade was always a disconnected thing. It lacked the union and the continuity that marked the land trade. A ship might be on the coast for only one season and never return. There was thus the inducement to the trader to seize a present gain by some dishonest or dishonourable conduct. Though that trader might never return the remembrance of the wrong remained in the mind of the savages, who seized the opportunity to revenge themselves upon the next visitor who was, of course, no party to the original wrong. This accounts for many of the outrages committed by them. All who are acquainted with the story of the capture of the *Boston* in 1803 will remember that Maquinna, the celebrated chief of Nootka, after he had seized that ship and murdered the crew told Jewitt, the survivor, that he was actuated in part by the thought of the wrongs that other traders had committed against him.

The maritime trade was a very destructive one. When it opened the sea-otter were very plentiful. Between the years, say, 1785 to 1800 it was not uncommon for a vessel to collect in the short season of three or four months—May to October—from 1,000 to 1,500 or even 1,800 sea-otter skins. Within thirty years the sea-otter had become, for all practical purposes, an extinct animal. Thus in 1834 the journal of Fort Nisqually records that only one sea-otter skin was offered for sale in that year; but even it was not obtained, because as the entry states the price could not be agreed upon and in consequence the Clallam Indians who owned the skin had returned to their homes and carried it back with them.

(Here insert pictures of Maquinna, of the capture of the *Boston*, of the various vessels engaged in the trade; these will be found in Jewett's Narrative, in Haswell's Log, and Ingraham's journal.)

RISE AND FALL OF LOUISBOURG

BY DR. J. CLARENCE WEBSTER

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EARLY DEVELOPMENT

By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Acadia with indeterminate boundaries was given to England, and the islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to France; of the latter the most important was Cape Breton. At first, England urged that no fortifications should be erected, but soon yielded on this point. These islands were of prime importance to France for their valuable fisheries and because they served as a training-ground for seamen who supplied the Navy. Until 1713 Louisbourg was known as *Havre l'Anglois* (English Harbour). It was first proposed to name it *Port St. Lois*, but the name *Louisbourg* was adopted by the French Government. When, in 1713, Placentia in Newfoundland was given up to the English, the inhabitants and their moveable property were transferred to Cape Breton (known to 1 the French as *Isle Royale*). Those who went to *Havre l'Anglois* were the pioneer settlers of Louisbourg. Later some Acadians from Nova Scotia joined them, under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. Phillipe Pasteur de 2 Costebelle, who had been Governor of Placentia, went in a similar capacity to Cape Breton. With him was Major l'Hermitte, an engineer. The latter very early worked on plans for fortifying Louisbourg and in 1714 submitted a scheme to Vaudreuil, Governor General of Canada. They were never carried out, and l'Hermitte was sent to Three Rivers.

At first there was great uncertainty as to which should be the principal settlement and stronghold in the island. Besides Louisbourg, St. Anne's (Port Dauphin) and St. Peter's (Port Toulouse) were considered equally important. Indeed, instructions were sent to Costebelle in 1715 that he should establish himself at Port Dauphin and commence fortifications, while only small forces should be placed at Louisbourg and Port Toulouse. The original settlers of Louisbourg protested strongly against this arrangement.

At this time the population of Louisbourg numbered 720, including civil and military officers, but excluding unmarried soldiers.

In this year, 1715, Louis XIV died. The new Government took a keen interest in the development of Cape Breton, and placed it under the jurisdiction of a newly formed Navy Board in Paris. The latter sent out supplies to the settlers in the spring of 1716 and encouraged the development of trade

3 and fishing. In 1717, it was decided that Louisbourg should be the chief place on the island and that it should be at once fortified, even before Port
4 Toulouse. Verville, a military engineer was sent out, and he drew up his plans with great care. They provided for the erection of bastions and walls, with a ditch and covered way, across the base of the peninsula; this was the main line of defence from the land side. He also proposed a battery on the west shore of the harbour, facing its entrance. These works, which were executed in solid masonry, were slow of construction and very expensive. Though they were elaborated and modified by later engineers, yet they remained the basis for the developments of all succeeding engineers as late as the final conquest of Louisbourg. It is interesting to note that the shore battery (named Grand or Royal Battery) was never of any value in time of war. Yet it was retained and strongly armed. The distinguished Quebec engineer, Chaussegros de Léry, criticised Verville, pointing out that the Battery was very vulnerable from the land side, and suggested that Light-house point would be a much better site.

Conditions gradually improved, trade increasing with France, Nova Scotia, Quebec and the West Indies; also with New England, in spite of the restrictions imposed by the authorities. At times, however, there was a shortage of provisions, causing actual famine in the island. Costebelle died in 1717 and was succeeded by Joseph de St. Ovide de Brouillan. He was forced to send almost the entire garrison to Quebec in 1718 because of the great scarcity of food. However, there was soon marked improvement. The fishing industry thrived well. Fur-trading increased. There was some export of coal and, even, some vessels were built. In 1719, it was stated that bread, wine and brandy were cheaper than in France. The soldiers in Louisbourg were allowed to marry and to hire themselves out to civilians. Work was, however, greatly hampered by the prevalence of drunkenness, and the authorities found it difficult to curb this evil. In 1719, six guns were mounted on the walls and a special medal was struck in commemoration of the starting of the fortifications.

In 1723, Louis XV attained his majority and he made Maurepas (aged twenty-three) Minister of the Royal Navy, displacing the Navy Board. Many new measures were introduced, affecting commercial conditions in Louisbourg. The routes of vessels and their ports of call were rigidly prescribed. Foreign vessels were prohibited from entering the port under heavy penalties. There was, at this time, great trouble with pirates, who were mostly Englishmen from fishing fleets. There was considerable discontent among the civil population of Louisbourg because military and
5 other officials engaged in trade.

6
8 In 1734, owing to the unsettled condition of Europe, Governor St. Ovide sent to France an elaborate statement referring to the position of Isle Royale in case of an outbreak of war, pointing out the inadequacy of the defences and advising that they should be greatly improved. He especially pointed out the growing ill-feeling among the Americans, who looked with disfavour on the increasing power of France in their neighbourhood. In 1738 this official went to France and was accused of grafting while in office. He was retired and given a pension. By this year Verville's scheme for the fortifications of Louisbourg was completed. There had been marked developments in the town. There were churches, convents, a hospital and large government buildings. The private houses were mostly of wood on stone foundations, though some were built partly of stone.

In 1737 the population numbered 1,463, excluding the garrison, officials and ecclesiastics. The nuns took charge of the education of the young. Several families had negro servants from the West Indies. The neighbouring country began to be developed and a road was extended to Miré. From 1721 part of the garrison had been composed of Swiss mercenaries, mostly protestants.

9 In 1739 a naval captain, Forant, was appointed Governor, and, with him, a new functionary, termed Commissary-Ordinaire (Intendant), Francois Bigot entered on his duties. They worked well together and greatly improved conditions in the colony. The physical comforts of the soldiers were increased, and drill was more rigorously enforced. Bigot stimulated the growth of trade and considerably increased the export of coal from the island. Forant died in 1740, being succeeded by an inferior man, Du Quesnel.

In 1742 Louisbourg became a port of call for vessels bound to France from South America and the Indian ocean, and this helped the business of the port. Mention has been made of trade with New England. This was of a most interesting character. New England traders, who brought fruit, vegetables, oats, shingles, bricks, etc., to pay for their purchases of West India products, smuggled in many contraband articles, e.g., flour, meal, biscuits, dry goods, codfish. Whole cargoes of codfish were transferred from English to French vessels at night, even in Louisbourg Harbour, while along the coast, where there were no preventive officers, this traffic was conducted quite openly. The English fishermen, unhampered by any restrictions were

10 able to sell their product under the current market price in Louisbourg. In 1744 war was declared between France and England. An expedition was sent from Louisbourg under Duvivier, a descendant of LaTour, to destroy the English settlement at Canso; it was successful, the garrison being taken. In the same year another force under the same leader was sent to attack Annapolis Royal, where Mascarene was in command. The garrison was small and the defences weak, and had it not been for the determination of Mascarene, the fort would have surrendered. However, reinforcements came from New England and Duvivier returned to Louisbourg. These attacks by the French thoroughly aroused New England. An embargo was placed on trade with Louisbourg, and many privateers were sent out to attack trading and fishing vessels. As a result, Louisbourg suffered considerably. About this time, also, a serious mutiny broke out in the garrison, causing much unpleasantness and anxiety among officials and citizens.

OUTLINE DESCRIPTION OF LOUISBOURG JUST BEFORE THE FIRST SIEGE OF 1745

The harbour was two miles long and half-a-mile broad. At the entrance were several islands, one of which was strongly fortified, the works being termed the Island Battery, mounting thirty 28-pounder guns.

On the west shore of the harbour opposite the entrance was the Grand or Royal Battery, with twenty-eight 42-pounder guns and two 18-pounders. Opposite this battery, on the east shore was a cove and wharf where vessels were cleaned, known as Careening Cove.

Farther along this shore at the harbour entrance, opposite Goat island, stood the Lighthouse.

In the earliest days of Louisbourg there was only a beacon fire for the guidance of mariners. Very early it was decided to build a lighthouse. This was done in 1731, the structure being of wood. On it was placed a pewter tablet indicating that

the building was erected by M. Verrier by order of Louis XV. This lighthouse was burned in 1734 and was replaced by a stone structure which was first lighted in 1736. This remained in service for many generations. The modern lighthouse was destroyed by fire in 1921, and, when the engineers excavated the ruins to lay the foundations of a new structure, they found about eight feet of the base of the stone house of 1736. In the debris was found the pewter plate, bearing the inscription which was on the original house.

- 7 The area of Louisburg, including the walls, was about 100 acres. The site of the town was twenty to thirty feet above sea-level. Outside the walls was mostly swampy ground, while in the background on the west were the Green Hills, extending to Gabarus Bay. At this time the fortifications were constructed according to the well-known first system of the celebrated engineer Vauban. On the land face of the town were two bastions and two semi-bastions with heavy guns. On the eastern front facing Rochefort Point were also two bastions; while another was on the gravel beach on the harbour shore of the town. This shore, also, had a wall of masonry with a parapet and banquette for musketry, pierced by five gates leading to the wharves.

The chief entrance was through the West Gate over a drawbridge protected by guns of the Dauphin Bastion and Circular Battery. Temporary bridges were thrown across the fosse on the land side for the use of the inhabitants. The entire area of walls had embrasures for 148 guns, but it is probable that the full number was not in position in the siege of 1745; a fair estimate is that there were in the neighbourhood of one hundred.

The Citadel, built of stone was the most conspicuous building in the town. It housed the Governor, and included a barracks, arsenal, and chapel. Other important buildings were a general Royal storehouse, ordnance storehouse, arsenal, and powder magazine. The Nunnery and Hospital of St. Jean de Dieu were in the centre of the town; the latter was a handsome building of stone. The streets were well-marked and ran at right angles.

ATTACK ON LOUISBOURG, 1745

- 16 Following the attacks by the French on Canso and Annapolis Royal, the Americans became more strongly convinced that France must not be allowed to grow stronger in Cape Breton, her presence there being a continual menace to themselves and to Nova Scotia. Under the direction of the energetic Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, public opinion became thoroughly aroused. Shirley proposed an attack on Louisbourg but was not able at first to induce his legislature to take the necessary steps.
- 12 However, he persevered, and with the great assistance of William Pepper-
- 11 rell of Kittery, opposition was overcome, and at once measures were taken to secure the co-operation of other States.

- An expeditionary force was assembled, consisting of levies from Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut. Rhode Island also contributed a quota but it was late in starting and only reached Louisbourg after the capture. New York gave guns and Pennsylvania provisions. William Pepperell was given the supreme command of the combined forces which numbered about 4,300 men. To convey these, ninety transports were provided. For the protection of the ships there were fourteen small
- 13 armed vessels belonging to various States. It had been hoped that a squadron of the British Navy under Commodore Peter Warren would have arrived from the West Indies, but regardless of its failure to appear, the

American expedition sailed. It arrived at Canso about April 1. It was decided to await the naval ships, and the troops were sent ashore for drill. A small force was sent to St. Peter's, destroying the settlement and taking the inhabitants prisoners. Near the end of April Commodore Warren's squadron arrived. As soon as the ice was reported clear of the Louisbourg shore, the combined expedition sailed on April 29 for Gabarus Bay, and arrived the next day.

It seems certain that the Governor of Louisbourg, Duchambon, was not aware of the presence of the Americans at Canso though they had been there three weeks. Some time previously he had been warned by the Quebec authorities that he might be attacked and help was offered. This, however, he refused. Indeed, even, when he saw the scouting vessels of the enemy outside the ice off the harbour he decided that they were French vessels trying to enter the harbour. About this time the soldiers' mutiny was quelled, but much unpleasant feeling remained, and the officers were still very suspicious of their men, a state of matters which influenced the conduct of the defence during the siege.

EVENTS OF THE SIEGE

15 Learning that the enemy had arrived at Gabarus Bay, the Governor sent a small force to oppose the landing of the first detachments sent ashore from the vessels. It was ineffectual and quickly overcome. The entire army then landed without any more opposition, and camping arrangements were begun. Warren's vessels took position off the entrance of the harbour. In the afternoon Lieut.-Col. Vaughan and 400 men were sent to reconnoitre the town and vicinity. They marched to a point opposite the West Gate, where they were observed by the enemy. They then moved back to the woods on the slopes of the hills and marched to the north end of the harbour, where they burned warehouses containing large quantities of stores and liquor. This caused a panic in the Grand Battery, and the garrison after imperfectly spiking a few guns precipitously fled to the town. Vaughan's troops bivouacked in the woods and next morning he with thirteen men reconnoitred the Grand Battery. As it seemed deserted an Indian was sent to investigate. He entered and signalled to Vaughan who at once went to the Battery with his small force and took possession. Soon after, a force of French approached the Battery in boats, but Vaughan opposed their landing with musketry fire and they retired. No further attempt was made to recover the Battery during the siege. The guns and munitions captured were of the greatest service to the Americans, as will presently be seen.

ERECTION OF SIEGE BATTERIES

17 First on a spur of the Green Hills 1,550 yards from the West Gate. Second 950 yards from the gate; guns from the Grand Battery were placed here. The work of erecting the batteries was carried on at night. On May 7 a summons to surrender was sent. Duchambon spurned it. A third fascine battery was then placed 440 yards from the walls. The French then attempted a sortie, but were driven back with loss. Two more batteries were erected, the nearest only 250 yards from the West Gate. As heavy guns from the Grand Battery were used in these the result of the fire was severe. The drawbridge and part of the wall were destroyed. As thirty cannon were found under water at Careening Cove

it was decided to raise them and mount them on a battery at Lighthouse Point. This work was difficult but was accomplished, Colonel Gorham being in charge. It was ready to fire on June 11, George the Second's birthday. The guns were directed against the Island Battery, which was very soon largely destroyed. On May 18 the garrison were greatly disheartened by the capture of the *Vigilant*, 64 guns, by Warren's fleet; she had just arrived from France. On May 24 the besiegers sent a fireship against the King's Gate during the night. It caused the destruction of three small French vessels, part of the gate and a stone house. During the night of May 27, 400 soldiers under Captain Brooks, made a night attack in whale boats on the Island Battery, but were driven off with considerable loss.

On June 8 several vessels from Newfoundland joined the fleet. As soon as the Island Battery was demolished, Warren planned to enter the harbour and a joint attack on the town was planned. When this became known to Duchambon he sent proposals for surrender on June 15. Terms were drawn up by Pepperell and Warren and the Governor accepted them. Immediately, the Island Battery was occupied by marines, while Pepperell marched into the city. The garrison were sent on board the British fleet, and on July 4 they with the inhabitants, numbering 4,130 persons were sent to France.

There had been much sickness during the siege among the American troops, and near the end there were 1,500 ill with diarrhoea. The total losses of the Americans during the siege amounted to 130; this included both deaths from wounds and disease. Duchambon reported only 50 killed, but it was believed that the number was nearer 300.

AFTER THE SURRENDER

- 18 Pepperell and Warren acted as joint governors. The damaged fortifications were immediately restored. Houses were repaired so as to be habitable for the troops. The siege batteries erected by the Americans were destroyed. The guns from the Grand Battery were restored. New guns were mounted on the walls, so that soon there were 266 cannon in position.

The French flag was kept flying over the town to lure vessels into the harbour. Several prizes were thus caught, among them several richly laden East Indian. One, the *Notre Dame de la Délivrance*, had on board \$2,000,000 Peruvian, and gold and silver ingots worth £800,000. The prize money was divided, according to custom in such cases, between the Crown and the fleet. Warren and others thus became very rich. The soldiers received nothing and were much disgruntled. They were told that the intention was to divide Cape Breton among them, but Governor Shirley soon undeceived them on this point. There was considerable trouble among the troops in regard to their forced continuance in Louisbourg, and over their pay.

About 2,740 men were kept in garrison over the winter; fever and dysentery caused hundreds of deaths among them. The dead were buried at Rochefort Point.

In September, 1745, 300 men were sent to take possession of Isle St. Jean. In April, 1746, regular troops came from Gibraltar to garrison Louisbourg, and the Colonials mostly went home, though some remained under Bradstreet.

The fortifications were strengthened, and new barracks built. There were over 2,000 troops in garrison, Commodore Knowles being Governor. Admiral Isaac Townshend had a large naval force. Knowles disliked the place and grumbled most of the time. He was overbearing and detested the colonials. He made strong representations to the Home Government that Cape Breton was not worth holding.

19

FRENCH EXPEDITION OF 1746

In the beginning of 1746, the French Government, smarting under the loss of Isle Royale to raw colonial troops, prepared another powerful expedition meant to recapture Louisbourg and Nova Scotia, and to ravage New England.

It was placed under command of the Duc d'Anville, de la Jonquière being under him. From the time it sailed it was met with bad luck, disaster after disaster reducing the great fleet, until only a few scattered remnants returned to France, not the slightest blow having been inflicted on the enemy. One of the worst misfortunes was the loss of enormous numbers of men from a plague, while in Chebucto Harbour. Moreover, the Duke died and his next-in-command killed himself.

FRENCH EXPEDITION OF 1747

21 In the beginning of 1747 the French Government sent another expedition under de la Jonquière, who had been made Governor General of Canada, with orders to take Louisbourg. The fleet had scarcely left the shores of France when it was met off Finisterre on May 3 by a British fleet under Vice-Admiral Anson, having Warren as next in command, and thoroughly defeated. De la Jonquière and 4,000 men were taken prisoners. This relieved New England's fears for the year and removed all immediate danger of an attack on Louisbourg. Knowles went to the West Indies and Lieut-Col. Hopson became Governor in his place.

20 Peace was made between France and England by the Treaty of Aix
22 La Chapelle in 1748. By its terms Isle Royale and Isle St. Jean were
23 restored to France and two hostages were sent to Paris by England as a
guarantee that the terms of the treaty would be carried out. England received in exchange for these islands Madras in India. The Government was severely criticised in England, but in America the news created consternation and dismay, for it was there felt that their interests had been ignored, and the prime essential for their safety in future had been ignored by the mother country. They received some compensation, however, in being paid by England for the cost of their expedition to Louisbourg in 1745. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, Louisbourg was evacuated during 1748-49, and DesHerbier was sent from France as the new Governor, Hopson went to Halifax to join Cornwallis who had been sent to establish a new stronghold on Chebucto Harbour.

24 During the following years Louisbourg increased in importance and its trade developed. An interesting account of the island at this time was written in later years by Thomas Pichon, who went to Louisbourg as Secretary to Comte de Raymond, appointed Governor in 1751. When the latter left in 1753, Pichon was sent to Fort Beauséjour as Intendant, remaining there until 1755, being in secret a source of information to the British.

In 1755, though the nations were at peace, England, to prepare against future trouble with France, determined to increase its military and naval forces. Immediately France ordered a large fleet to go to Canada. This was at once followed by a British fleet under Admirals Boscawen and Holborne. In foggy weather off Newfoundland, the British attacked some of the French fleet, and Richard Howe captured the *Lys* and the *Alcide*. The British then blockaded Louisbourg and prevented assistance being sent to Beauséjour, which was being attacked by Monckton.

War was declared in 1756. During that summer Commodore Holmes cruised off Cape Breton, making some captures.

In 1757 Lord Loudon was sent with a large force to Halifax to prepare for an attack on Louisbourg, assisted by a fleet under Holborne. Hearing of the great increase in the number of troops in Louisbourg, Loudon decided not to fight, and returned to New York. Holborne then sailed to Cape Breton, but learning that the French fleet in Louisbourg outnumbered his own, he retired. Receiving reinforcements later, he again went to the Island, but was caught in a terrible storm which scattered his fleet, damaging many vessels and destroying several. The shattered vessels then returned to England. Meanwhile the French in Louisbourg gave much attention to the improvement of their fortifications.

BRITISH EXPEDITION OF 1758

William Pitt, having decided to attack France in Canada, sent a large expedition from England to Nova Scotia in the spring of 1758. The fleet was commanded by Boscawen, under whom were Sir Charles Hardy and Commodore Durell. There were over 12,000 troops under General Amherst. The latter was in Germany, but was ordered to join the forces in Halifax. He was conveyed there by Captain Rodney in the *Dublin*. The army was arranged in three brigades, under Whitmore, Lawrence and Wolfe. The expedition, after remaining a short time in Halifax, sailed for Gabarus Bay, where it arrived on June 2. The sea was too rough for an immediate landing.

The enemy had prepared to resist a landing, by establishing, at all points where disembarkation of troops from boats was likely, a number of fortified positions, some of them being very cleverly concealed by bushes and rocks. These were in three groups. At Freshwater Cove there were six; at Flat Point and Flat Point Cove, five; and, near White Point, four. Three groups of British troops under the Brigadier-generals were ordered to attempt the landing, each with orders as to the part of the shore assigned to him. Whitmore was to go to White Point, Lawrence to Flat Point, while Wolfe was ordered to Freshwater Cove. To the latter was given the honour of making the real landing. The others were meant to make feints so as to mislead the enemy. Still another feint was ordered at Lorambec, three miles east of Lighthouse Point.

The morning of June 8 was the first favourable day. The troops were ordered into the boats before daybreak. Each division went to its appointed place. The French rightly guessed that the chief attempt would be made at Freshwater Cove and as Wolfe neared the shore he was met by a terrific close-range fire of guns and musketry. Fearing that this would destroy his force he waved his hand as a signal to retire, but this was misunderstood by troops some distance away. About a hundred under brave junior officers pushed ashore near a rock, and, though there was considerable surf, made a landing. This happened to be a place which the

French had not thought worth while to defend. Instantly Wolfe saw what had happened and, urging his boat ashore, jumped into the water and led his men to the attack on the fortified positions. A bayonet charge cleared one after the other, and soon all Freshwater Cove was in Wolfe's possession. The other divisions captured all the other defences and soon the French, who had not been killed or taken prisoners, were fleeing to Louisbourg.

The rest of the army then landed and formed a large camp on both sides of the stream running into Flat Point Cove. Several blockhouses and redoubts were built to guard against attacks as well as against Indian raids.

45 It may now be interesting to refer to the defence of Louisbourg, before giving the details of the siege.

46 During the British occupancy after 1745, bombproof casemates had
50 been built, and a large barracks had been erected near the Queen's Gate.
51 Later the French had built a half-moon battery with 20 guns at Rochefort
52 Point; a curtain of masonry between the Princess and Maurepas bastions; a bastioned curtain between the Queen's and Princess bastions to strengthen the ditch. Also a battery had been erected on the shore at Lighthouse Point. The garrison numbered 3,400 regulars, 700 militia, and some Indians. There were twelve naval vessels in the harbour, of which two made their escape at the beginning of the siege. The others wished to leave but Governor Drucour refused his consent.

SIEGE OPERATIONS

Wolfe was immediately sent with 1,200 men to take the battery at Lighthouse Point. He found it deserted and the guns spiked. He established a camp on the Point, sent 300 men to L'Anse-au-Loup, and 300 to the north end of the harbour. He erected batteries on the hill above Careening Cove, and another on the shore between that Cove and the Lighthouse. These opened fire on the French ships, which were thereby forced to draw near the town.

The development of a series of trenches was next undertaken. An elevation in front of the town, named Green Hill, was fortified with a redoubt, and became the central point for observations. A road from it to Flat Cove was constructed across much marshy ground with great difficulty, but it was necessary for the conveyance of supplies.

The first trench was extended from the Barachois in front of Green Hill southwest for a quarter of a mile. At this time Governor Drucour became alarmed and ordered the *Echo* to go to Quebec for assistance. The
53 vessel had not gone far from the harbour when she was captured. Wolfe, having transported a number of 20-pounders to his Lighthouse battery was
54 soon able to destroy most of the guns and embrasures on the Island battery. Drucour then sank six vessels in the channel between Lighthouse Point and Battery Island, fearing that the British ships might try to enter the harbour. There were thus left only five French ships of the line and one frigate.

The first trench was meant for an attack on the King's and Dauphin's
56 battery, but as it could only be reached across a bog it was necessary to build an épaulement or rampart over it from Green Hill, a distance of a
57 quarter of a mile; the rampart was nine feet high and sixty feet wide. The work could only be carried on at night. However, it was satisfactorily

completed, though under a galling fire from the frigate *Arethuse*. On July 1, the French made a sortie from the West Gate which was met by Wolfe and driven back. In the confusion which ensued Wolfe at once erected a battery and redoubt just north of the Barachois, and opened fire on the ships as well as on the town.

On the 3rd Wolfe was selected to throw up a redoubt within 600 yards of the ravelin of the Queen and Princess bastions, not far from the sea shore. On the ninth the French made a night attack on it, and Lord Donaldson, who was in command, was killed.

57a On July 11 Boishebert arrived at Miré with a force from Acadia; he attacked one of the British posts but was beaten.

About this time the *Arethuse* escaped in a fog and went to Quebec.

A second trench was next dug on the right of the first.

On the 16th Wolfe attacked a number of French who were keeping up an annoying fire from the glacis and ground in front of the West Gate, driving them back. He immediately established a new redoubt and battery in front of the Barachois, which did much damage to the West Gate and wall and enabled the troops to proceed with new trenches. On the 21st the *Entreprenant* blew up, setting on fire two other vessels, the *Capricieux* and *Celebre*, all three being destroyed. Only the *Prudent* and the *Bienfaisant* remained. During the next few days the trenches were advanced rapidly, especially in front of the West Gate. On the 22nd the Citadel was set on fire, and next night a barracks was burned. On the 25th the two remaining
58 vessels were captured in a night cutting-out expedition in boats, under
LeForey and Balfour. The *Prudent* grounded and was set on fire. The
59 *Bienfaisant* was safely towed out of the harbour, and joined the British
fleet, Balfour being made Commander, while LeForey was given command
60 of the previously captured *Echo*.

Boscawen now decided to send six ships into the harbour to attack the town at short range. Drucour hearing of this, decided that it was time to capitulate and he sent a messenger offering to yield on the same terms
61 which were granted the English at Port Mahon in Minorca. This was
62 refused and Drucour was forced to accept the British terms, surrendering
63 on July 26th. Wm. Amherst, brother of General Amherst was sent to
64 England to announce the victory, being accompanied by a representative
65 of the Navy.

The French prisoners of war were sent to England.

St. Anne's and Espagnol (Sydney) were occupied, and Lord Rollo was sent to Isle St. Jean to occupy Fort la Joie. Sir Charles Hardy and Wolfe were sent in a squadron to destroy the French fishing stations on the coast as far north as Gaspé.

Amherst proposed to sail at once and attack Quebec but Boscawen refused on account of the lateness of the season.

News having been received of Abercrombie's defeat at Ticonderoga, Amherst at once left for New York. Whitmore was made Governor of Louisbourg. Commodore Durell was sent to Halifax with ten ships to be ready for operations against Quebec in the coming spring. On Sept. 7th eleven sets of captured flags were presented to the King at Kensington Palace and then taken to St. Paul's with great ceremony.

In 1760 Pitt wrote to Amherst ordering the destruction of the fortifications of Louisbourg, the work to be carried out so thoroughly that they could not be rebuilt from the materials of which they were constructed.

The Hon. John Byron was sent from England with a small squadron in this year to assist in the work of demolition. While at Louisbourg he heard that a French fleet was on its way to relieve Quebec, and at once
66 went after them. They were caught at the mouth of the Restigouche
67 river in Bay Chaleur and defeated. This was the last naval battle of the Seven Years' War in North American waters.

68 In October the work of demolition was completed. All the artillery, ammunition, stores, etc., even much of the cut stones which were in some of the buildings, were taken to Halifax. The loss of Cape Breton was a severe blow to the French Navy, for at the conquest at least 15,000 seamen were engaged in the fisheries.

As indicating how greatly France prized Cape Breton, it is on record that in 1761, when an agent of her government was in London sounding the British authorities with regard to making a Treaty of peace, he offered to give the whole of Canada on certain conditions, chief of which was the restitution of the island.

AFTER HISTORY OF LOUISBOURG

In 1761 the last Governor departed, only a small military force being left to represent British authority. In 1763 applications for land grants began to be made, but, as the island had not been surveyed, none were given. Immediately, however, Samuel Holland was instructed to undertake this work. In this year Cape Breton was made part of Nova Scotia. Holland's survey was not completed until 1767. In 1768 the troops departed and never returned. Shopkeepers and others who depended on the military were forced to go elsewhere.

In 1768 Francklin made a report on Louisbourg, stating that there were only 142 houses standing, of which 13 were in good condition, 60 in fair shape, 66 in bad condition, and 3 in ruins. Of the nineteen which had been used at public buildings, e.g., the hospital, residences of Judge, Governor and Intendant, victualling office, bakehouses, stables, barracks and gaol, which had been constructed of stone, were all standing. All others were of wood. In later years the stone houses were demolished and the material transported elsewhere in Nova Scotia for building purposes.

In 1769 there were many applications for grants of land in Cape Breton, but for a considerable time they were not allowed, only licenses to settle being given.

Louisbourg continued to decline, but the death-blow was given to it when Cape Breton was separated from Nova Scotia and given a separate Government in 1784.

The first Governor was Joseph Wallet DesBarres, who chose the peninsula at the south arm of Spanish river, because the harbour was much better than that of Louisbourg, though not free from ice troubles in winter. He named the new capital Sydney. Louisbourg thereafter rapidly dwindled and became a poor fishing village.

At the present day the site of the old town is a dreary waste, occupied by less than a dozen humble farmer-fishermen. There is not a trace of the old town, save where heaps of rubbish mark the old foundations. Some of the old streets may be outlined. The ruined walls and bastions are easily traceable. The graves at Rochefort Point and elsewhere have been beaten
69 out of recognition. The old water front has almost entirely disappeared save for a few piles which have withstood the ravages of time.

"On Louisbourg's heights where the fisherman strays,
When the clear cold eve's declining,
He sees the warships of other days
In the wave beneath him shining;
Thus shall memory often, in dreams sublime,
Catch a glimpse of the days that are over,
And sighing look back through the vista of time,
For the faded glories they cover."

In 1895 the Society of Colonial Wars of the U.S.A. erected a monument in honour of the soldiers who fought at Louisbourg in 1745. Very recently the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada have begun to place various bronze tablets at different sites.

RISE AND FALL OF LOUISBOURG

EXPLANATION OF LIST OF SLIDES.

Of the seventy slides to illustrate the lecture on Louisbourg, all are in my possession except those marked "O." These require to be made from illustrations mentioned. Of these there are seven.

Of the remaining 63 slides, which I own, those marked "N.N." are without negatives, there are 16 of these.

The remaining 47 have negatives; I shall present these to the Historical Society so that duplicate sets may be made from them.

LANTERN SLIDES

1. Early French of Cape Breton, before the settlement of Louisbourg. McLennan, p. 9. O.
2. Phillippe Pasteur de Costebelle, First Governor of Isle Royale. Coloured. From miniature of J.C.W. W.N.N.
3. Captain Young's map of Louisbourg and environs. 1716. McLennan, p. 52. O.
4. Verville's Plan of Louisbourg. 1717. McLennan, p. 51. O.
5. Plan of Louisbourg. 1723-24. French. W.N.N.
6. Verrier's View of Louisbourg. 1731. W.
- Original in Bibliothèque Nationale. J.C.W. has copy. W.
7. Pewter dedication plate, placed on first Lighthouse, dated 1731.
Original plate was found in the ruins of Lighthouse, following a fire, in 1923. It will be placed in new Lighthouse. W.
8. Dauphin or West Gate. 1733. W.N.N.
9. Town and Harbour of Louisbourg. 1737. W.N.N.
10. Paul Mascarene, Governor of Nova Scotia at Annapolis Royal, when expedition from Louisbourg in 1744 attacked Fort Anne. W.
- Reproduction of original painting now in Massachusetts; copy belongs to King's College, N.S.
11. William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, who was chiefly instrumental in raising the expedition against Louisbourg in 1745.
Engraving belonging to J.C.W. W.
12. Sir William Pepperrill, of Kittery Point, Maine. Commander of troops in expedition against Louisbourg, 1745.
Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
13. Sir Peter Warren, in command of Naval forces at siege of Louisbourg in 1745.
Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
14. French Plan of Louisbourg, just before siege of 1745. W.N.N.
15. Landing of troops in Gabarus Bay, 1745. Old print owned by J.C.W. W.
16. Gridley's Plan of Louisbourg, made after capture in 1745.
Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.N.N.
17. Louisbourg and surroundings in siege of 1745. Engraving owned by J.C.W.
Positions of troops and batteries. W.
18. One of the flags carried by the troops. Original now preserved in the N.Y. Historical Museum. W.
19. Charles Knowles, when Commodore in the navy, appointed Governor of Louisbourg after its capture in 1745. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.

20. Lieut. Col. Hopson, Governor of Louisbourg after Knowles left. Appointed Sept. 18, 1747. From illustration in collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society. W.
21. Marquis de la Jonquière, appointed Governor General of Canada and Admiral of a French fleet sent to retake Cape Breton in 1747, but defeated off Cape Finisterre by Admiral Anson. Drawing owned by J.C.W. after an old German engraving in the Bibliothèque Nationale. W.
22. Lord Cathcart, sent to Paris as a hostage after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Held until Louisbourg was again in the hands of the French, according to the terms of the treaty. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
23. Satirical caricature published in England after the terms of the Treaty of 1748 were made known. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
24. Thomas Pichon, who accompanied Governor Forant to Louisbourg as secretary in 1751. In 1753 he went to Beauséjour as Intendant and was a spy in the pay of the British. In later years he published a valuable work on Cape Breton. Small painting owned by J.C.W., a copy of the original in Vire, Pichon's birth-place. Coloured W.N.N.
25. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded the fleet which attacked a French fleet off Newfoundland in 1755, when war had not been declared. He captured two vessels and then blockaded Louisbourg. This action was mainly responsible for the starting of the Seven Years War, which began in 1756. In the siege of Louisbourg in 1758 he commanded the fleet. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
26. Sir Richard Howe, who served under Boscawen in the action off Newfoundland, and who captured the *Alcide* and *Lys*. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
27. English satirical caricature relating to the events of 1755. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
28. Lord Loudoun, Commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, who took an army to Halifax to co-operate with Admiral Holborne in attacking Louisbourg in 1757. Fearing that the French were too strong he decided not to fight, and returned to New York. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
29. Admiral Holborne, who commanded the fleet meant to co-operate with Loudoun's forces in attacking Louisbourg in 1757. Finding that the French fleet in Louisbourg slightly outnumbered his own he decided not to fight. Being reinforced later in the year he went to blockade the harbour, but a terrible hurricane broke up his fleet with great damage and some losses, and he returned to England. Engraving of Holborne and his son owned by J.C.W. The original is in the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. W.
30. H.M.S. *Grafton*, Commodore Holmes, dismantled by the storm which damaged Admiral Holborne's fleet off Louisbourg in 1757, making her way to England with a makeshift rudder. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
31. William Pitt, the master mind who was responsible for the operations of the early period of the Seven Years War. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
32. Sir Charles Hardy, next in command to Admiral Boscawen in the operations at Louisbourg in the siege of 1758. After the capture, he was sent with Wolfe to destroy French settlements on the west shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
33. Admiral Philip Durell, who served in the navy at both sieges of Louisbourg. He published an interesting pamphlet on the siege of 1745. In the siege of 1758 he was next in command to Sir Charles Hardy. In the spring of 1759 he was sent to the River St. Lawrence ahead of Admiral Saunders to try to intercept the French fleet which was sent from France to help Quebec. Small painting, a copy of the original in possession of Sir Havilland de Saumarez, Guernsey, owned by J.C.W. W.
34. Jeffery Amherst, Commander-in-chief of the army in the siege of Louisbourg in 1758. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
35. George B. Rodney, later Lord Rodney, was in 1758 captain of H.M.S. *Dublin*, which carried General Amherst from Europe to Halifax, where he took command of the forces destined to capture Louisbourg. Rodney was unable to proceed with the fleet, because of an outbreak of epidemic fever on his ship. He was made officer in command at Halifax and was engaged in forwarding transports and in looking after the health of his men. He was able, however, to join Boscawen just before Louisbourg surrendered in July and sailed for

- Europe in August with the convoy which carried the French prisoners of war. He took home a present of dried fish and Madeira from Wolfe to his family. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
- 35A. Portrait which has been widely known as that of Charles Lawrence, Governor of Nova Scotia and Brigadier-general under Amherst at the siege of Louisbourg in 1758. It has been recently demonstrated that the portrait is really that of Stringer Lawrence, of East Indian fame, the original portrait being in London. As yet no portrait of Charles Lawrence has been found. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
36. James Wolfe, Lieut. Col. of the XXth Regt., in which position he succeeded Edward Cornwallis, who was sent to found Halifax in 1749, was chosen by William Pitt to serve as a Brigadier General under Amherst in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1758. His activities in the campaign were very marked and he was known afterwards as "The Hero of Louisbourg." Engraving owned by J.C.W. The original is owned by Mr. Scobell Armstrong of Penzance, whose wife is descended from the Rev. Mr. Swindon, Wolfe's teacher in Greenwich, to whom Wolfe presented the painting, which was by the artist Thornhill. It represents Wolfe in the uniform of a Lieut. Colonel and must have been painted between 1750 and 1758. W.
37. Profile portrait of Wolfe by Schaak. This was not painted from life, but from a sketch made at Quebec either by Harvey Smith, Wolfe's aide-de-camp, or by John Montresor, the engineer officer. The original now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Copy owned by J.C.W. W.
38. Portrait of Wolfe painted in England, probably at Bath, after his return from Louisbourg. This is a remarkable likeness. The picture was found by J.C.W. in England in the spring of 1924. It had been in the possession of a family since the 18th century. The painting is now owned by J.C.W. W.
39. Wolfe's Commission as Brigadier General for the campaign against Louisbourg in 1758. Original is in Squerryes Court, Westerham, Kent, where all his other Commissions are except that for the Quebec campaign. W.
40. Sir Wm. Howe, brother of Richard Howe, later Earl Howe of naval fame. He served at Louisbourg, and while there received news of the death of his oldest brother Lord Howe at Ticonderoga. Next year he also served at Quebec. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
41. Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, was at Louisbourg at the head of the Scotch regiment, the 78th Highlanders, which he raised at the instance of William Pitt. It is said that Wolfe first proposed that the Highlanders should be trusted to fight. As a boy Fraser had been in sympathy with the Jacobites, but though his father Lord Lovat was beheaded in the Tower of London for his part in the rebellion, the son was not punished. Original miniature in collection of Sir F. Williams-Taylor. W.
42. Joseph F. Wallet DesBarres, who fought at Louisbourg, and, next year, at Quebec. He was an able engineer and skilled Draughtsman. Before the American War of Independence he was employed in a survey of the eastern coast of America for the British Admiralty. His charts and drawings were published as the Atlantic Neptune. He had a long dispute concerning payment for his work. When in 1784 Cape Breton was separated from Nova Scotia, DesBarres was made first Governor. Later he became Governor of Prince Edward Island. He died in Halifax in 1824 in the 103rd year of his age, and was buried in St. George's Church.
43. John Montresor, a distinguished Engineer officer, son of James Montresor who was Chief Engineer to the British Forces in America, a position which the son also came to fill. He fought at Louisbourg and, next year, at Quebec. Between 1755 and 1762 he made extensive surveys in Eastern Canada, his map of Acadia being well known. After the war of conquest in Canada he performed much work as an engineer in New York and other States. Etching by Rosenthal, after a portrait by Copley, owned by J.C.W. W.
44. Samuel Holland fought at Louisbourg after having been in New York State with the army. After the fall of Louisbourg he made a survey of the town and environs, being assisted by James Cook. Next year he was at Quebec. After the fall of the latter he was mostly engaged in surveying. In 1762 he was made first Surveyor-General of Quebec and the Northern district of North America. Prince Edward Island was divided into lots and counties by Holland. From illustrations in a life of Holland by Willis Chipman in Vol. XXI, Ontario Historical Society, 1924. W.
45. Louisbourg and environs, 1758. French view. W.N.N.

46. Entrance to harbour. About 1760. Sketch owned by J.C.W., copied from old print. W.
47. Shore of Gabarus Bay where troops landed in 1758. From illustration in McLennan's *Louisbourg*. W.N.N.
48. Freshwater or Coromandière Cove in Gabarus Bay, showing the probable spot where the first troops reached shore. From illustration in McLennan's *Louisbourg*. W.N.N.
49. Landing from ships in Gabarus Bay, 1758. Original sketch made on board a vessel at the time. Owned by J.C.W. W.
50. View of Grand Battery. W.N.N.
51. Plan of Grand Battery. W.N.N.
52. Island Battery. W.N.N.
53. Amherst, Wolfe, and other officers at the battery on Lighthouse Point in 1758. In the harbour the French ships are seen. Beyond is the opposite shore of the harbour. Large original painting owned by J.C.W. This is the only painting of the military part of the siege, of importance, known to exist. W.
54. French view of Wolfe's attack on Island Battery. W.N.N.
55. Batteries and Trenches. From Brown's History of the Island of Cape Breton. O.
56. Davies sketch of siege operations in 1758. From sketch owned by author, copied from original in Museum of R.A. Institute, Woolwich. W.
57. View of Louisbourg and harbor, during the siege of 1758. Engraving by Canot after a sketch by Ince, an officer. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
- 57A. Charles Des Champs de Boishebert, who had fought in Acadia for years, brought a force of French and Indians to Miré, near Louisbourg, during the siege of 1758, but was driven off. Drawing copied from original painting in St. Ours, P.Q., owned by J.C.W. W.
58. Night attack on the two remaining French ships, *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*. This was conducted with great success by a naval force in boats under Balfour and LeForey. Both were captured. As the *Prudent* grounded firmly she was set on fire. The *Bienfaisant* was towed out and joined the British fleet. Engraving owned by J.C.W. The original painting is owned by a descendant of Geo. Young, a midshipman, who was awarded a medal for special bravery on the occasion. The picture was made later to his order.
59. Alexander Schomberg, in command of the *Diana*, was in this night attack. He was awarded a special gold medal for his services at Louisbourg. Engraving, entitled *A Sea Officer*, owned by J.C.W. The original painting was by Hogarth and is now in London in possession of a descendant of Sir Alexander Schomberg, for the officer was knighted at a later period. W.
60. James Cook served as Master mariner in the *Pembroke* under Capt. Palliser at Quebec. He took part in the cutting out of the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*. After the capture he helped Samuel Holland in his survey of Louisbourg. In 1759 he was with the fleet at Quebec and made an important survey of the St. Lawrence. After the war he surveyed Newfoundland and Gulf of St. Lawrence coasts. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
61. Breaches made in fortifications of Louisbourg by the British artillery. French drawing 1758. W.N.N.
62. Attack and Defence. First Stage, June 30th. McLennan's *Louisbourg*, p. 268. P.
63. Attack and Defence. Second Stage, July 3rd, p. 271. O.
64. Attack and Defence. Third Stage, July 27th, p. 280. O.
65. Wm. Amherst, brother of Jeffery Amherst. After the fall of Louisbourg, he was sent to England with the dispatch announcing the victory, and was given a sword and £500 by the King. Photograph of painting owned by Lord Amherst. W.
66. Hon. John Byron, ancestor of the poet. Sent in command of a small squadron to Louisbourg in connection with the dismantling of the fortifications. While there he was sent to fight a French squadron which left France for the relief of Quebec. The latter learning that the British fleet held the St. Lawrence took refuge in Baie Chaleur. Here Byron found and defeated them, 1760. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
67. Samuel Barrington, captain of the *Achilles* in Byron's Squadron. He also took part in the Battle of the Restigouche at the head of Baie Chaleur. Engraving owned by J.C.W. W.
68. Wright's sketch of the demolished fortifications of Louisbourg in 1766. Copy owned by J.C.W. W.
69. Casemates in ruins. Present time. W.N.N.
70. Monument erected by the Society of Colonial Wars of the United States in 1895, in honor of the soldiers who fought at Louisbourg in the first siege of 1745. Photo owned by J.C.W. W.

THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

FIELD

The history of the North West Company falls naturally enough into four periods: (1) Origin, (2) Rivalry with X Y Company, (3) Western Expansion, (4) Rivalry with Hudson's Bay Company. A lecture might be given on any one of these periods; or it might be devoted to a survey of the history of the North West Company as a whole. The suggestions that follow relate more particularly to the latter.

SOURCES

These, as in nearly all cases, may be divided into Primary and Secondary Sources, and the latter into Manuscript and Printed. Brief titles only are used here. Full titles will be found in the bibliography at the end of the outline. Generally speaking the Secondary Sources will be found more accessible than the Primary; but even in the former class are several books which to-day are found only in the larger public libraries and in some private collections of Canadiana. Books which are believed to be readily accessible are starred in the bibliography.

(1) *Primary Sources (a) Manuscript.*—The two principal collections of material relating to the history of the North West Company are in the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa and in the Archives of McGill University Library, Montreal. These consist for the most part of manuscript journals by men who were engaged in the western fur trade for the North West Company. They include also a certain amount of material bearing upon the purely commercial side of the fur trade; minutes of the Beaver Club of Montreal, etc. Other sources of manuscript material are the Toronto Public Reference Library, the British Museum, the Public Record Office in London, the Bancroft Library in the University of California, the British Columbia Archives in Victoria, the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison, the Michigan Historical Society in Lansing, the Burton Collection in the Detroit Public Library, the Archives of the Montreal Court House, the Provincial Archives at Quebec. There are probably scattered documents in other sources. It may be said, however, that the sum of all the manuscript material in the above-mentioned sources represents but a small part of the documents that exist, or at some time did exist, relating to the commercial and other relations of the North West Company. Where these other papers are at the present time, if they have not been destroyed, is not known.

(b) *Printed.*—The main collection of journals and other documents relating to the North West Company is in Masson's *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*. Others are found in the *Canadian Archives Reports and Publications*; in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*; the publications of the Michigan Historical Society; the *Quarterly* of the Washington Historical Society, and of the Oregon Historical Society; and in such published journals as Mackenzie's *Voyages*, Henry's *Travels and Adventures*, Franchère's *Narrative*, Harmon's *Journal*, Cox's *Adventures*, Ross's *Fur Hunters and First Settlers*, the *Henry-Thompson Journals* edited by Coues.

(2) Secondary Sources

The field is too large to do more than suggest here some of the books that it is believed will be found most useful. A larger list, which, however, does not by any means profess to be exhaustive, will be found in the bibliography. Davidson, *North West Company*, Bancroft, *North West Coast*, Bryce, *Hudson's Bay Company*, Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, Bryce, *Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson*, Laut, *Conquest of the Great Northwest*, Kelton, *Annals of Fort Mackinac*, Martin, *Selkirk's Work in Canada*, *Origin and Progress of the North West Company*, Selkirk, *Sketch of the British Fur Trade*.

ORIGIN

A lecture on the North West Company might conveniently and logically open with a very brief sketch of the fur trade as it was at the close of the period of French rule in Canada, and an equally brief statement of the commercial life of Montreal in the first decade or two of British rule. Both contributed to the establishment of the North West Company. The British fur traders who organized the North West Company were the logical successors of the fur traders of New France, and were recruited from the merchants of Montreal. They got their inspiration from the former and their business training from the latter.

On the fur trade of New France, see Parkman, *Old Régime and Conspiracy of Pontiac*; Douglas, *New England and New France*; Colby, *Canadian Types of the Old Régime*; Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*.

On the commercial life of Montreal in the early days of British rule, see Atherton, *Montreal*; Bosworth, *Hochelaga depicta*; Sandham, *Ville-Marie*; McLennan, *Montreal 1642-1842*; Campbell, *History of St. Gabriel St. Church*.

The story of the North West Company has also other point of contact besides the fur trade of New France and the early commercial life of Montreal. As a chapter in the history of the fur trade in North America it is linked with the stories of the X Y Company and the earlier association of Montreal traders known as the Montreal Company; and at later dates with those of the Hudson's Bay Company and various fur-trading organizations of the United States; also to some slight extent with that of the Russian fur companies. It is interwoven with the story of western exploration; and also with the history of early settlement on the Red river, the Saskatchewan, and the Pacific coast. It touches very closely the life of the North American Indian, and had a direct influence upon his character; sometimes for good, at other times for evil; it might be difficult to say which predominated. It is part of the social and political history of pre-confederation Canada.

Obviously to discuss adequately all these points of contact would take the subject far beyond the bounds of a single lecture. The lecturer must use his judgment as to how many of them he will touch upon, and to what extent. Some of them will be considered briefly in later sections of this outline.

X Y COMPANY

The relations of the North West Company with the X Y Company have been very adequately treated in Davidson's *North West Company*,

ch. iv; also in ch. xvii of Bryce's *Hudson's Bay Company*. See also Masson's *Esquisse* in his *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*; Mackenzie's "History of the Fur Trade" in his *Voyages*; Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*; Laut, *Conquest of the Great Northwest*; Landmann,

Adventures and Recollections.

The X Y Company grew out of dissatisfaction on the part of certain partners of the North West Company with its administration, and in particular with the overbearing character of Simon McTavish. McTavish and Sir Alexander Mackenzie mixed no better than oil and water, and when the latter became the directing force of the X Y Company, bitter trade rivalry developed. This led to the free use of intoxicating liquors by both sides to secure the trade of the Indians; and at remote posts in the interior the rival traders often came to blows. The situation had become almost intolerable when the death of McTavish removed the chief obstacle in the way of reconciliation, and the X Y Company was absorbed by the North West Company.

WESTERN EXPANSION

All effective opposition, except that of the Hudson's Bay Company, having now been removed, the North West Company expanded rapidly not only in trade but in territory covered. It counted among its members such enthusiastic explorers as Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson and Simon Fraser, whose narratives, as well as those of Alexander Henry and his nephew of the same names, Harmon, and others, throw a great deal of light upon this period of the Company's history.

The trading posts of the company at this time extended from Sault Ste. Marie westward on both sides of lake Superior to Grand Portage, thence inland on Rainy lake and other waters between lake Superior and lake Winnipeg, on the Red and Assiniboine rivers, the Saskatchewan, Churchill, Athabaska, Peace and Mackenzie rivers. There were posts in what is now Minnesota and elsewhere in the northwestern territory of the United States; and also several in what was known as the King's Domain, on the north side of the lower St. Lawrence.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Rivalry between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company began in the early days of the former. The Hudson's Bay Company at first looked upon the Montreal traders with scorn as mere "pedlars," and, relying upon their prestige with the Indians, refused for a time to establish posts in the interior. They quickly learned, however, that if they did not do so most of their business would be taken from them by the North West Company. Having been stirred out of their lethargy, they became aggressive competitors, and on all the principal rivers of the west rival trading posts sprang up flying the flags of the respective companies.

The story of the X Y Company and the North West Company was repeated, but the rivalry of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company grew even more virulent than that of the two Montreal corporations. The clash of interests finally culminated in such tragic incidents as the Seven Oaks Affair, 1816, and the death of Benjamin Frobisher, 1819. The responsible leaders of both companies recognized

that the course that was being followed was suicidal, and after protracted negotiation the North West Company became absorbed in the Hudson's Bay Company.

Light is thrown on this period of the North West Company's history by Davidson's *North West Company*, Bryce's *Hudson's Bay Company*, Martin's *Selkirk's Work in Canada*, Masson's *Bourgeois*, Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, Ross, *Fur Hunters*.

DATES

These are the more important dates in the history of the North West Company: Organized 1783-84; absorbed Montreal Company 1787; new agreement 1802; X Y Company absorbed 1804; first post established west of the Rockies 1806; union with Hudson's Bay Company, 1821.

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The following references are merely suggestive. Additional information will be found in one or other of the various works listed in the bibliography:—

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New York, 1903; *Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories*, Toronto, 1901; *Washington Irving, *Astoria*, New York, 1861; D. H. Kelton, *Annals of Fort Mackinac*, Chicago, 1882; George Landmann, *Adventures and Recollections*, London, 1852; *A. C. Laut, *Conquest of the Great Northwest*, New York, 1908; *Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans*, New York, 1902; Wm. McLennan, "Montreal, 1642-1842" (Semi-Can. Report, Montreal Board of Trade, 1893); *Chester Martin, *Selkirk's Work in Canada*, Oxford, 1916; L. R. Masson, *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, Quebec, 1889-90; *R. O. Merriman, *The Bison and the Fur Trade* (Bulletin of the Depts. of History, etc., in Queen's University, No. 53, 1926); *A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America*, London, 1817; *On the Origin and Progress of the North West Company of Canada, with a History of the Fur Trade*, London, 1811; *Francis Parkman, *Old Régime in Canada*, Boston, 1898; *Francis Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Boston, 1898; Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*, London, 1849; Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West*, London, 1855; A. Sandham, *Villemarie*, Montreal, 1870; Lord Selkirk, *A Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America; with Observations relating to the North West Company of Montreal*, London, 1816; J. B. Tyrrell, *David Thompson's Narrative*, Toronto, 1916; W. H. Atherton, *Montreal*. See also: L. J. Burpee, *Encyclopaedia of Canadian History*; *W. S. Wallace, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*; *L. J. Burpee, *Atlas of Canadian History*; *Reports of the Public Archives of Canada; *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada; *Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society and of the Michigan Historical Society; *Quarterly of the Washington Historical Society and of the Oregon Historical Society.

NOTE: The books starred should be found in any fair-sized public library. The others are at least in the larger public libraries.

SLIDES

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| 1. Simon McTavish, | 27. Peter Pond's map, |
| 2. Alexander Mackenzie, | 28. Pond's Journal, |
| 3. William McGillivray, | 29. Traders in Indian teepee, |
| 4. Alexander Henry, | 30. Ojibway camp, |
| 5. D. W. Harmon, | 31. Assiniboine Chief, |
| 6. Joseph Frobisher, | 32. Assiniboine Camp, |
| 7. Benjamin Frobisher, | 33. Mandan village on Missouri, |
| 8. Simon Fraser, | 34. Traders racing for Indian camp, |
| 9. James McGill, | 35. Horses crossing the Athabaska, |
| 10. Isaac Todd, | 36. Fort Chipewyan, |
| 11. John Jacob Astor, | 37. Camp near Rocky Mountain House, |
| 12. Montreal in 1800, | 38. Palisades of Mackenzie River, |
| 13. Beaver Hall Hill, | 39. Fur traders on Churchill River, |
| 14. Fur warehouse in Montreal, | 40. Mackenzie's map, |
| 15. Tavern where Beaver Club met, | 41. Mackenzie on his way to Pacific, |
| 16. McTavish's home in Montreal, | 42. Grand Canyon of Fraser River, |
| 17. Voyageur's contract, | 43. Bella Coola, |
| 18. Beaver Club medal, | 44. Fort Macleod, northern British Columbia, |
| 19. Traders leaving for the west, | 45. Thompson reaches the Columbia, |
| 20. Portaging on the Ottawa, | 46. Fort Kootenay restored, |
| 21. Fort William, | 47. Boat encampment on Columbia, |
| 22. Lake of the Woods, | 48. Kettle Falls on Columbia, |
| 23. Portage routes west of Lake Superior, | 49. David Thompson's map, |
| 24. Water routes from Lake Winnipeg, | 50. Dr. John McLoughlin. |
| 25. Travelling by dog train, | |
| 26. Travelling in canoe, | |

HISTORIC AND PRE-HISTORIC SITES OF CANADA 1925-26

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH

During the year the work of acquiring, preserving and marking Canada's national historic sites was steadily carried on by the Department of the Interior, on the recommendation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and a very creditable showing was made.

A general meeting of the Board was held during the month of June when a considerable number of sites were reviewed and a further selection made from these for action by the Department.

The services of Mr. Aegidius Fauteux were lost through his resignation as a member of the Board owing to pressure of other duties. His Honour Judge W. Crowe was added to its personnel as representative from Nova Scotia.

Ready co-operation is being extended by local societies and affiliated organizations and public sentiment seems to be growing stronger in connection with this national work.

The Board has so far had under scrutiny over one thousand sites and from this number one hundred and eighty-six have been selected and recommended for action by the Department. The control of one hundred and thirteen of these has been obtained by deed of gift, license of occupation or purchase.

Inexpensive memorials in the form of a cobble-stone cairn or large boulder are placed on sites where no remains exist to carry the Department's standard bronze tablet which is of a very artistic nature. Upon completion custodians are appointed to supervise them and to keep the sites in a presentable condition.

A summary of the work accomplished during the past year is enumerated hereunder.

SITES MARKED

In addition to those enumerated in previous reports of the Canadian Historical Association, the following memorials were erected during 1925:—

MARITIME PROVINCES

Louisbourg, N.S.

Two tablets were placed on the outer wall at each side of the entrance to the new lighthouse, erected by the Department of Marine and Fisheries. One of these marks the site of the first lighthouse tower in British North America, built by the French, in 1731, also that of the batteries utilized by the British against the French defensive works on the island opposite. The other commemorates the valour and endurance displayed by the French forces, which, in 1745, and also in 1758, garrisoned the batteries on the Island. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Fort Edward, Windsor, N.S.

A cairn and table were erected on the old military reserve to mark the site of the fort built there in 1750, by Major Charles Lawrence for the protection of Piziquid and the surrounding district and as a symbol of British sovereignty in Nova Scotia. It was of special importance during the war with France in 1755-62, and the American Wars of 1775-82 and 1812-15. It was also closely associated with the tragic incidents connected with the deportation of the Acadians in 1755.

Fort la Tour, St. John, N.B.

A tablet was placed on the face of the rock wall fronting Portland street to mark the site of Fort La Tour, built in 1631 by Charles de La Tour, Governor in Acadie. After an heroic defence by its occupants commanded by Madame la Tour the fort was captured and pillaged by his rival, D'Aulnay de Charnisay, in April, 1645.

Fort Meductic, near Woodstock, N.B.

A cairn and tablet were erected in a prominent location on the side of the public highway about four miles from Woodstock to mark the site of Fort Meductic, which was the chief Maliseet stronghold in Acadie in the 17th and 18th centuries. Near it was a village with a church and burying ground. The church was built in 1717 and a replica of the dedication stone was incorporated in the memorial. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Battle of the Restigouche, Campbellton, N.B.

A cairn and tablet were erected in Riverside Park to record the events associated with the naval battle which took place in the spring of 1760, between a small French squadron which had taken shelter in the Restigouche River and a British squadron commanded by Honourable John Byron. This was the last naval battle of the Seven Years' War in North American waters.

Fort Cumberland, near Amherst.

A tablet bearing a French inscription was placed on another face of the memorial erected in 1924. Repairs were also carried out on the ruins of the old magazine.

Charlottetown, P.E.I.

A tablet was placed on the walls of the lobby of the Provincial Building to record some of the outstanding events associated with the history of Prince Edward Island (formerly Island of St. Jean), discovered by Jacques Cartier in 1534, settled by Chevalier St. Pierre in 1720-21, surrendered to Great Britain in 1758, annexed to Nova Scotia in 1764 and made an independent colony in 1769. It was raided by American privateers in 1775, the United Empire Loyalists arrived in 1783, the first Confederation conference took place in 1864 and it joined the Dominion in 1873.

QUEBEC

Fort Chambly, Chambly Basin.

A commemorative shrine, to which is affixed a bronze tablet, was erected in the old cemetery to perpetuate the memory of the men who, under the walls of the old fort, gave their lives for their country.

Fort Richelieu, Sorel.

A cairn and tablet were erected on a plot of land, donated by the Canada Steamship Lines, near their dock to mark the site of the wooden fort built in 1643 by M. de Montmagny at the mouth of the Richelieu River. It was reconstructed in 1665 by Pierre de Saurel and served on many occasions as an important defence post against attacks by the Iroquois. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Hochelaga, Montreal.

A boulder and tablet were placed on the McGill campus grounds, facing Sherbrooke Street to mark the site of the Indian village discovered and visited by Jacques Cartier in 1535 and abandoned before 1600. It contained fifty large houses which lodged several families who subsisted by cultivation and fishing.

Fort Longueuil, Longueuil.

A tablet was placed on the outer wall of the Roman Catholic Church which now stands on the site of Fort Longueuil, erected in 1685-90, by Charles de Longueuil II, as an outpost against the Iroquois. It was demolished in 1810.

Tadoussac.

A cairn to which is affixed two tablets was erected on a plot of land directly across the road from the old Tadoussac chapel. This was the oldest French establishment and Christian mission in Canada and an early resort of Basques for the whale fishery. Jacques Cartier arrived September 1, 1535, and in 1600 Pierre Chauvin built the first house in Canada. The war alliance of the French and Algonquins against the Iroquois was effected by Champlain at Lark's Point, opposite.

Fort Charlesbourg Royal, Cap Rouge.

A cairn and tablet were erected adjacent to the main road passing through the village and near the mouth of the Cap Rouge River to mark the site of the forts built there by Jacques Cartier in 1541-42 and extended by Roberval in 1542-43. This, the first attempt to colonize Canada, proved a disastrous failure and was abandoned. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Battle of Coulée Grou, Rivière des Prairies.

A cairn, tablet and fence were erected adjacent to the highway from Montreal to Rivière des Prairies to mark the site of the engagement of July 2, 1690, between the French under Colombet and the Iroquois. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Battlefield of Odelltown, near Lacolle.

A bronze tablet was attached to the cairn constructed last year to commemorate the events associated with the engagement which took place there on November 7-9, 1838, between the Loyal Militia of Canada and the rebel invaders.

ONTARIO

Port Arthur.

A cairn and tablet were erected on a small plot of land in Gore Park, leased by the city of Port Arthur, to commemorate the historic events associated with that town. Radisson and Groseilliers were the first Europeans on Thunder Bay, arriving there in 1662. Wolseley's Red River Expeditionary Force camped at the foot of Arthur Street, May 19, 1870,

named by him Prince Arthur's Landing, advanced by the Dawson Road via Lake Shebandowan and other lakes and rivers connected by portages to Fort Garry to suppress the Red River Rebellion.

Fort Nottawasaga, Stayner.

A cairn and tablet were erected on Wasaga Beach with the consent of Messrs. W. H. and S. A. McLean, to mark the site of Fort Nottawasaga, which stood about two miles upstream from that point. The fort consisted of a blockhouse constructed in 1814 by Lieutenant Colonel Robert McDouall, A.D.C., Glengarry Light Infantry, and destroyed by enemy forces on August 13th, 1814. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on August 8th, 1925, under the auspices of the Huron Institute.

WESTERN CANADA

Selkirk Settlement, Winnipeg, Man.

A cairn and tablet were erected in Sir William Whyte Park, permission having been granted by the City of Winnipeg, to mark the site of Fort Douglas, headquarters of the first British settlement west of the Great Lakes. The Red River Settlement, founded by Lord Selkirk, was established under Captain Miles Macdonnell, in 1812. Fort Douglas, though destroyed by the North West Company in 1815, was rebuilt in the same year and remained the headquarters of the settlement until the Hudson's Bay Company became the owners in 1834.

Forts Rouge, Garry (Old and New) and Gibraltar, Winnipeg, Man.

A tablet was erected on the gateway of Old Fort Garry, to mark the site of Fort Rouge, established by La Vérandrye in 1738; Fort Gibraltar, built by the North West Company in 1804; "Old" Fort Garry, headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, after the coalition with the North West Company in 1821, and "New" Fort Garry, built of stone in 1836-39, and seat of Government until the transfer to Canada in 1870.

Fort Calgary, Calgary, Alta.

A cairn and tablet were erected in Central Park to commemorate the arrival in August, 1875, of Troop "F" of the North West Mounted Police under Inspector E. A. Brisebois, and the establishment of their post, Fort Calgary. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on July 4th, 1925, under the auspices of the Calgary Historical Society.

Gonzales Hill, Victoria, B.C.

A cairn and tablet were erected on the summit of the hill to commemorate the exploration of the Straits of Juan de Fuca, 1787-1792. The fur trade explorers were Charles William Barkley, who discovered the Straits in 1787; Commander John Meares, who entered the Straits in 1788, and Robert Gray in 1789. Captain George Vancouver, R.N., proved the non-existence of a reputed Northwest passage in these latitudes, also made first circumnavigation of, named and proved insular character of Vancouver Island in 1792. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on November 19th, 1925, under the auspices of the Lady Douglas Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire.

Fort Kamloops, Kamloops, B.C.

A boulder and tablet were erected in Riverside Park in memory of the pioneer fur traders, who, by establishing themselves in this locality,

aided in securing the country for Great Britain. Among the outstanding from 1811 to 1860 were David Stuart, Joseph Larocque, Alexander Ross, John McLeod, Francis Ermatinger, Samuel Black, Donald Manson, John Tod, Paul Fraser and Donald McLean.

ACQUISITION AND PRESERVATION OF SITES

Action was taken with respect to the acquisition of other historic properties recommended by the Board to be of national interest and preservation work was carried out on a number of monuments and other structures already controlled by the Department as follows:—

MARITIME PROVINCES

Battle of Grand Pré, N.S.

A plot of land twenty-five feet square, situated adjacent to the main road leading to Evangeline Beach, was purchased from Mr. E. B. Laird on which a memorial will be erected to commemorate the events associated with the engagement of February 11th, 1747, between the French and English.

Joseph Wallet des Barres, Sydney, N.S.

Permission has been granted by the Department of Public Works to place a tablet on the front of the Post Office building to commemorate the public services of Joseph Wallet de Barres, first Lieutenant Governor of Cape Breton, 1784-87, and founder of Sydney.

Sir Howard Douglas, Fredericton, N.B.

The Provincial Government has granted authority for the erection of a tablet in the main hall of the Parliament Buildings at Fredericton to commemorate the public services of Sir Howard Douglas, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, 1823-31.

Fort Nashwaak, Devon, N.B.

A lease of occupation was executed by the town of Devon covering a site on which it is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet to mark the site of the fort erected in 1692 at the junction of the St. John and Nashwaak Rivers, from which many raids were directed against New England.

QUEBEC

Three Rivers Platon and Fort.

The Department of Public Works has granted authority for the placement of a boulder and tablet opposite the Customs Building at Three Rivers to mark the site of the old fort built there in 1634, which was the centre for fur trade with the Indians.

Fort Lennox, Ile-aux-Noix.

Extensive improvements were carried out on the several massive stone buildings located on the site to ensure of their preservation. These included laying of floors, plastering and pointing of walls, painting of roofs, erection of eave troughs, installation of windows, etc. A new entrance was also provided from the mainland to the large landing dock.

Battle of Eccles Hill, near Frelighsburg.

The memorial plot was cleared of brush, trees planted, and a new fence erected enclosing it.

Madeleine de Verchères, Verchères.

The site was enclosed with a new chain fence and the masonry on the memorial repaired.

ONTARIO

Fort Wellington, Prescott.

A new fence was constructed around the south and west sides of the fort property, outer and inner palisades repaired and the roof leading to the listening post replaced with new timber where necessary. The increased popularity of the fort was evident from the large number of tourists who visited the site.

Rideau Canal, Ottawa.

The Department of Public Works granted permission to place a tablet on the central pillar of the bridge on the north side of Wellington Street to record the events associated with the construction of the Rideau Canal.

Montgomery's Tavern, Toronto.

The Department of Public Works granted permission to place a tablet on Postal Station K, North Yonge Street, which now occupies the site of Montgomery's Tavern, to commemorate its association with the Rebellion of 1837.

Bishop John Strachan, Cornwall.

The Collegiate Institute Board has by license of occupation granted permission for the placement of a tablet on the outer wall of the Institute to commemorate the public services of the Honourable and Right Reverend Bishop John Strachan as pioneer educator, author and legislator.

Queenston Chippawa Portage Road, Stamford.

Permission was granted by the village of Stamford to place a cairn and tablet on the Village Green at the intersection of the Provincial Highway leading to St. Catharines and the road from Queenston to Niagara to mark the site of the Niagara Portage road opened by United Empire Loyalists in 1788, which was the principal route of travel and trade to the Upper Lakes region until the opening of the Welland canal, in 1829.

WESTERN CANADA

Fort Augustus, Edmonton, Alta.

Permission was granted by the Provincial Department of Public Works to erect a cairn and tablet on the surveyed road allowance passing through River Lot 8, Fort Saskatchewan Settlement, to mark the sites of Fort Augustus, established by the North West Company in 1794, and Fort Edmonton established by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1795.

Fort Macleod, Macleod, Alta.

The Provincial Department of Public Works has executed a form of permit granting the Department permission to place a cairn and tablet on their reserve adjacent to Twenty-third Street in the town of Macleod to commemorate the events associated with the founding of the Royal North West Mounted Police post on the island northeast of the town, in 1874.

New Westminster, B.C.

The Department of Justice has granted permission for the placement of a memorial on the penitentiary grounds at New Westminster to commemorate the landing the Royal Engineers in 1859 and the founding of the first capital of British Columbia.

Bella Coola, B.C. (Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Farthest Point West).

The Provincial Government has set aside an area of thirteen acres for the purpose of a Provincial Park, which is to be known as the "Sir Alexander Mackenzie Historic Park." This is to be managed, regulated, and controlled by a board comprised of members of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. A suitable memorial will be erected within this area on the exact terminus of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's trans-continental journey, which has recently been identified.

WORK FOR THE FUTURE

The following sites have been deemed by the Board to be of national importance and recommended for commemoration:—

- First Post Office in British North America, Halifax, N.S.
- King's College, Windsor, N.S.
- Admiral d'Anville's Encampment, Bedford Basin, N.S.
- Fort La Have, Mouth of La Have River, N.S.
- Battle of the Shannon & Chesapeake, Halifax, N.S.
- Yorkshire Settlement, Chignecto, N.S.
- Canso, N.S.
- Martello Tower and Blockhouse, St. John, N.B.
- Tonge's Island, N.B.
- First Steam Fog Alarm, St. John, N.B.
- Invention of Compound Steam Engine, St. John, N.B.
- Battle of Repentigny, near Charlemagne, P.Q.
- Battle of Chateauguay, Allans Corner, P.Q.
- Lacolle, Battle and Blockhouse, Lacolle, P.Q.
- Gaspé, P.Q. (Landing Place of Jacques Cartier).
- Second Battle of Chateauguay and Blockhouse, near Allans Corner, P.Q.
- First Patent issued in Canada.
- Valcartier Camp, Valcartier.
- Ile-aux-Coudres, opposite Baie St. Paul, P.Q.
- Temiscouata Portage Route, Cabano.
- First Paper Mill in Canada, St. Andrew.
- Fort Ste. Thérèse, Ile Ste. Thérèse, P.Q.
- First Steamship in Canada, Montreal, P.Q.
- Lachine Massacre, Lachine, P.Q.
- First Railroad in Canada, Laprairie, P.Q.
- Champlain's Landing, Allumette Island, P.Q.
- Battle of Two Mountains, Rivière des Prairies, P.Q.
- Opening of the St. Lawrence River to all nations.
- Madeleine de Verchères, Verchères, P.Q.
- Battle of the Cedars, Cedars, P.Q.
- Battle of Fort Lennox, Isle-aux-Noix, P.Q.
- Fort Coteau du Lac, Coteau du Lac, P.Q.
- Southwold Earthworks, near St. Thomas, Ont.
- Mission of Ste. Marie I, near Midland, Ont.

Chatham, Ont. (Action at the house of Thomas McCrea, 1812).
Nanticoke, Ont.
Vrooman's Battery, near Queenston, Ont.
Ridgeway Battlefield, near Ridgeway, Ont.
Tête du Pont Battery, near Chippawa, Ont.
Weishuhn's Redoubt, near Chippawa, Ont.
Navy Island Shipyard, near Chippawa, Ont.
Battle of Longwoods, near Wardsville, Ont.
York Battle, Toronto, Ont.
Point Pelee, Ont.
Murney Tower, Kingston, Ont.
McKee's Point, Sandwich, Ont.
Canoe Route from Montreal to Lake Huron, etc., Ont.
Glengarry Landing, near Edenvale, Ont.
Fort York or Toronto, Toronto, Ont.
Fort Henry, Kingston, Ont.
Pointe au Baril, Maitland, Ont.
Fort St. Joe, St. Joseph's Island, Ont.
Pointe de Meuron, near Fort William, Ont.
Site of the death of the Duke of Richmond, near Richmond, Ont.
Fort Norfolk, Turkey Point, Ont.
Martello Shoal Tower, Kingston, Ont.
Bishop A. Macdonell, St. Raphael.
First Salt Works in Canada, Louth Township, Ont.
First Petroleum Wells, near Bothwell, Ont.
Fugitive Slave Movement, Windsor, Ont.
First Electric Telegraph Line, Toronto, Ont.
Sir Charles Bagot, Kingston, Ont.
Lord Sydenham, Kingston, Ont.
Butler's Burial Ground, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
Allan Crawford, Ottawa, Ont.
Canadian Arctic Expedition, Ottawa, Ont.
Fort George, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
Port Dover, Ont. (Starting Point of Brock's Expedition, 1812).
Fort Mississagua, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
Fort Cataragui, or Frontenac, Kingston, Ont.
Duck Lake Battlefield, near Carleton, Sask.
Fish Creek Battlefield, near Rosthern, Sask.
Fort Cumberland, Cumberland House, Sask.
Buffalo Jumping Pound.
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 Somerville, Mrs. J. M. Kenniston Apart-
 ments, Ottawa.
 Southam, F. N., 1070 Bleury St., Montreal.
 Squair, J., 368 Palmerston Ave., Toronto.
 Starnes, Lt.-Col. Cortland, 421 Laurier Ave.
 E., Ottawa.
 Staton, Miss Frances, Reference Library,
 College St., Toronto.
 Stevenson, Andrew, The Normal School,
 London, Ont.
 Stillman, Charles, 56 Church St., Toronto,
 Ont.
 Sutherland, J. C., Department of Public
 Instruction, Quebec, P.Q.
 Swinburne, Lt.-Col. J. E., 325 St. Catherine
 St., Fort William, Ont.
 Sword, Colin E., Metropolitan Bldg.,
 Toronto.
 Taschereau, Hon. L. A., Hotel du Gou-
 vernement, Quebec, P.Q.
 Tessier, Cyrille, 12 d'Aiguillon St., Que-
 bec, P.Q.
 Thériault, Elisée, Hotel de Ville, Quebec,
 P.Q.
 Thompson, Lt.-Col. A. T., 122 Wellington
 St., Ottawa.
 Thompson, Mrs. E. J., Niagara-on-the-Lake,
 Ont.
 Thomson, Prof. R. B., University of
 Toronto, Toronto, Ont.
 Tilley, Leonard T. D., K.C., St. John, N.B.
 Todd, Lt.-Col. A. H., Library of Parlia-
 ment, Ottawa.
 Tombs, Guy, 285 Beaver Hall Hill, Mont-
 real.
 Tombs, L. C., 503 Mount Pleasant Ave.,
 Westmount, P.Q.
 Trois-Rivières, Séminaire de, P.Q.
 Trotter, Reginald G., Queens University,
 Kingston, Ont.
 Tyrrell, J. B., 534 Confederation Life
 Chambers, Toronto.
 Underhill, Frank H., University of Saskat-
 chewan, Saskatoon, Sask.
 Vallée, Yvan E., Ministry of Public Works,
 Quebec, P.Q.
 Wade, Dr. M. S., Kamloops, B.C.
 Wallace, Malcolm W., University College,
 University of Toronto, Toronto.
 Warner, Clarence M., Atlantic Corporation
 of Boston, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 Watson, S. B., 27 McLennan St., Toronto.
 Waugh, W. T., McGill University, Mont-
 real.
 Webster, Dr. J. C., Shediac, N.B.
 Weir, Hon. Mr. Justice, 4219 Western
 Ave., Westmount, P.Q.
 Weir, Dr. Stanley, 756 Sherbrooke St. W.,
 Montreal, P.Q.
 Whitcher, A. H., 315 Frank St., Ottawa.
 Whitton, Miss Charlotte, 404 Daly Ave.,
 Ottawa.
 Willey, Professor A., McGill University,
 Montreal.
 Williams, Professor Basil, University of
 Edinburgh, Scotland.
 Williams, David, Collingwood, Ont.
 Williams-Taylor, Sir Frederick, Bank of
 Montreal, Montreal.
 Willison, Sir John, 10 Elmsly Place,
 Toronto.
 Wilson, George E., Dalhousie University,
 Halifax, N.S.
 Winslow, J. J. Fraser, Fredericton, N.B.
 Woods, Lt.-Col. Wm., 59 Grand Allée, Que-
 bec, P.Q.
 Wrong, Prof. G. M., 73 Walmer Rd.,
 Toronto.
 Wrong, H. H., 122 Walmer Rd., Toronto.
 Wurtele, Lt.-Col. E. F., Box 67, Station
 B, St. Catherine St. W., Montreal.
 Yeigh, Frank, 588 Huron St., Toronto.
 Young, Archibald Hope, Trinity College,
 Toronto.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1926

From May 1, 1925 to November 18, 1925

RECEIPTS

Balance in the Bank of Montreal.....	\$ 643 32
Annual Subscriptions.....	224 55
Subscriptions for the David Thompson Memorial Fund.....	450 00
Reimbursement from Montreal Committee.....	6 30
Bank Interest.....	9 73
	<hr/>
	\$1,333 90

EXPENDITURES

Printing (circular letters, stationery, etc.).....	111 12
Expenses of Annual Meeting, May, 1925.....	134 00
Secretary-treasurer's allowance for expenses.....	200 00
Chairman of executive committee's allowance for expenses.....	200 00
Postage and sundries.....	40 73
Balance on hand, November 18, 1925.....	648 05
	<hr/>
	\$1,333 90

C. M. BARBEAU,
Treasurer.

From November 18, 1925 to April 30, 1926

RECEIPTS

Balance transferred to the Bank of Commerce.....	\$ 648 05
Annual subscriptions.....	723 50
	<hr/>
	\$1,371 55

EXPENDITURES

David Thompson Memorial Fund (transferred to separate savings a/c).	\$ 525 00
Postage.....	58 50
Printing and stationery.....	34 90
Canadian Historical Review—	
advertising..	\$ 8 00
issues to members.. . . .	161 00
refund..	50.....
	<hr/>
	169 50
Sundries.....	17 03
Balance on hand, April 30, 1926.....	566 62
	<hr/>
	\$1,371 55

Audited and found correct:

C. E. HIGGINBOTTOM,
Auditor.

C. N. COCHRANE,
Treasurer.

DAVID THOMPSON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS

Balance transferred from current account, January 19, 1926.....	\$ 525 00
Contributions to April 30, 1926.....	255 00
	<hr/>
	\$ 780 00

EXPENDITURES

Exchange on cheques.....	1 75
Balance in Bank, April 30, 1926.....	778 25
	<hr/>
	\$ 780 00

The following subscriptions were received up to April 30, 1926:—

Hudson's Bay Co.....	\$ 75 00
Bank of Montreal.....	75 00
Royal Bank of Canada.....	75 00
Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada.....	75 00
Canadian Pacific Railway Company.....	150 00
Canadian National Railways.....	75 00
Hon. H. Bostock, Ottawa.....	10 00
O. M. Biggar, Ottawa.....	10 00
Sir G. Burn, Ottawa.....	10 00
Lady Drummond, Montreal.....	10 00
F. N. Southam, Montreal.....	10 00
F. Adams, Montreal.....	10 00
R. W. Reford, Montreal.....	10 00
H. Paton, Montreal.....	10 00
M. J. O'Brien, Ottawa.....	10 00
S. M. Baylis, Montreal.....	10 00
G. S. Cantlee, Montreal.....	10 00
J. B. Tyrrell, Toronto.....	20 00
Sir Joseph Flavell, Toronto.....	10 00
J. C. Webster, Shediac.....	10 00
Sir Arthur Currie, Montreal.....	10 00
E. F. Wurtèle, Montreal.....	10 00
E. D. Smith, Winona.....	10 00
N. W. Rowell, Toronto.....	10 00
C. M. Warner, Boston.....	10 00
C. W. Colby, New York.....	10 00
H. G. Birks Company, Montreal.....	15 00
Sir Robert Borden, Ottawa.....	10 00
J. H. Coyne, St. Thomas.....	10 00
Sir G. Perley, Ottawa.....	10 00

Total.....	<hr/>	\$ 780 00
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